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Vol. IV.
No. 3.

December,
1918.

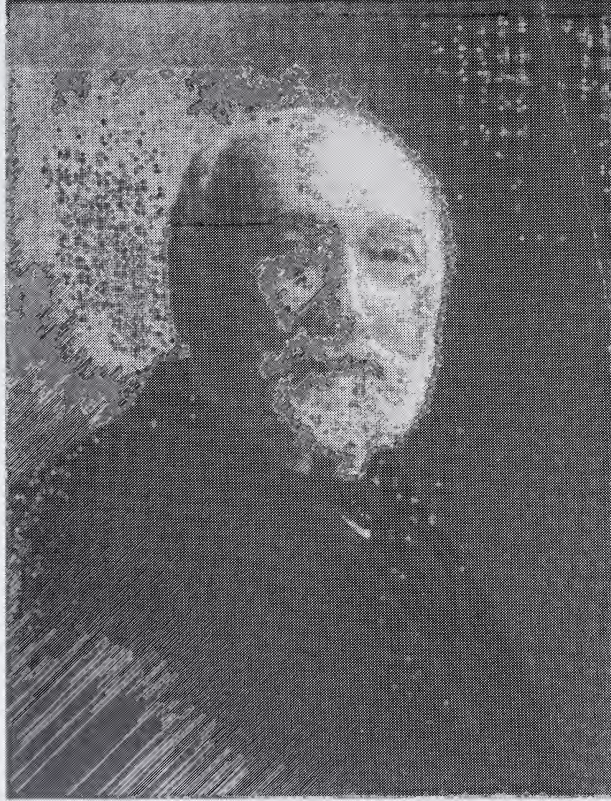
County Louth Archæological Journal.



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THE LATE WILLIAM TEMPEST,
Vice-President 1903—1918.

JOURNAL OF THE
COUNTY LOUTH
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY.

EDITED BY
JOSEPH T. DOLAN, M.A.



ESTABLISHED 1903.

DUNDALK
PRINTED BY WILLIAM TEMPEST DUNDALGAN PRESS



S Fialmair Feunamail Maḡ-Muiréimne
Iḡ ór-buidé 'n t-ardar ann 'ran óroḡmar
Aéct i oteannta na mbarraí ó'n iḡir
Tá ríotar rean-ḡaóal ann ḡo leor.

DAN LYNCH.

ALL Communications for the Editor, who will be glad to lay
any Papers or Notes of Archæological Interest before the
Council, should be addressed to

JOSEPH T. DOLAN,
Editor Louth Archæological Journal,
ARDEE, CO. LOUTH.

PRINTED FROM
IRISH-MADE TYPES AND PLATES
BY IRISH LABOUR.



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The extreme price of paper has obliged the publication committee to reduce the size of the JOURNAL considerably, and to postpone to the next number the lectures delivered during the year and other valuable papers and also all reference to recently issued books, and the list of members and the accounts.

The Council is obliged to appeal to members to make their subscription ten shillings as far as possible, in order to meet the expense of the JOURNAL and enable the Society's work to be carried on.

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SOCIETY.

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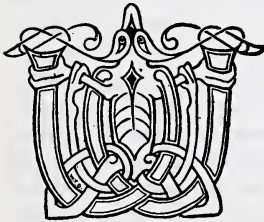
Folk Lore

**With some account of the Ancient Gaelic Leeches and the state of the
Art of Medicine in Ancient Erin.**

Lecture delivered by R. Marlay Blake, M.D., at Dundalk, October, 1917.

Camden, the historiographer, wrote on a time—

“If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their own soile, and forrainers in their own cities, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.”



WHAT then is Folk Lore? It has been defined as the traditional learning of the humbler and uncultured classes of civilized nations.

Now, the study of such survivals involves also the investigation of similar customs, beliefs and so forth of races on lower planes of culture and even of savage tribes. But I do not propose to go into that portion, for I might weary you, and time would not permit.

Fletcher of Saltoun is credited with saying: “So be I make the ballades of the Nation, let who will make their Laws.” I apprehend his meaning to have been, that things that loom large in the public eye are not always as important nor have they always as much effect on the daily current of our lives, as the seemingly smaller and less important matters that enter more intimately into our home life, and so interpenetrate us as to mould our thoughts and actions.

The schoolmaster is abroad, we are told, and everyone can read and enjoy, not only our local press, but the daily papers and those high-class weeklies—*yclept*, *Tit-Bits* and *Answers*, that the commercial genius of an astute Irishman—my Lord Northcliffe—weekly dumps on our unresisting land. And so the old traditions

are dying fast, the old chimney-corner stories are unrelated and forgotten, and the old cures despised. Before it be too late I desire to lay before you, and so put on record, some few of those I have collected during long years in North Louth. These cures, or variants of them, are no doubt common to all parts of Ireland, merely differing in slight details in various counties. Some people may look on them as mere superstition and nonsense, but I am not of that opinion, for I find that many are at least founded on a substratum of sound common sense, and in many instances anticipate our modern so-called scientific methods, as I shall have occasion to point out to you as I go along. They are in many instances no doubt the mutilated remains of the precepts of the ancient Gaelic doctors. From the most ancient times, stretching back into semi-mythical periods, and downwards through the ages to these present times we live in, Erin has been famous for the learning and skill of her medical sons. Ancient chroniclers give the very names of some of the more famous of these. Passing over the very earliest, I would call your attention to Diancecht, who may be looked upon as the Celtic Esculapius; he is referred to by Cormac MacCuilleainin, who lived A.D. 831-903. His name signifies "vehement power." In or about 1897 B.C. was fought the battle of Moytura, near to Cong in the County Mayo. Nuada, King of the Tuatha De Danaans, lost his arm in the first fight. Diancecht staunched the blood and dressed the wound, and Miach his son made for the King a silver hand, wrought so cunningly that every joint and finger had the mobility of the lost member. This gave to the monarch the soubriquet of Nuada of the Silver Hand, by which he is known in Irish history. A "bath of healing" was constructed at the rear of the army into which the soldiers plunged and emerged refreshed for the fray. They do the very same thing in France and Flanders at the present day. Doctors are proverbially a jealous tribe, and I regret to say that Diancecht was no exception; he caused his son and daughter, who were also physicians, to be slain. So you see the Gael had their Lady Doctors over 2500 years ago. Airmedh was the lady's name, and by her death was lost the secret of the 365 herbs that cured all diseases. At Tara of old they had a hospital, it was known as "Broin Bearg" or "Home of Sorrow." Dogs, fools and female scolds were forbidden entrance. Connor MacNessa was King of Ulster while Our Saviour lived. He had received a dangerous head wound that his Leech, Fineen Faithag, had with difficulty cured. His advice to the King for the conservation of his health, was to avoid extreme exercise, to be continent, and live cleanly and temperately, and to give way to no fits of anger. As long as he obeyed, he flourished. It is related, that awed by the solar eclipse and other terrifying phenomena that Scripture tells us occurred at the Crucifixion, the King consulted his druids, who told him that the Son of the Living God was being slain at that moment though innocent of all guile. This so enraged Connor that he rushed out of his palace sword in hand and slashed and hewed the trees and branches in the extremity of his righteous indignation; the wound burst forth and he fell dead at the feet of his courtiers in the forty-ninth year of his reign—the first in Ireland to die for Christ was he.

In the Book of Ballymote we are told how Fineen gave a clinical lecture to three of his disciples, on a poisoned wound that a famous Dalcassian chieftain, Teige MacCein, was afflicted with, and the chronicler goes on to describe how, when approaching the house, Fineen said "What groan is this?" A "groan from a barb," said the first pupil. "A groan from a reptile," said the second. "A groan from a poisoned dart," said the third, and he was right; so it was; then the cautery followed, and the wound was reopened, drainage tubes inserted, as is done nowadays, and cure followed. Talking of these tubes, an unhealed wound on Cailthe's leg was cured by two fedans or tubes. They were "The fedans of Nudarn's daughter," evidently a special kind designed by this Lady Doctor to suit this particular case.

The physician was held in high honour in those days. The Book of Glendalough relates that he was assigned a high seat at the royal banqueting table. He had grants of land and cattle bestowed upon him ; according to the Brehon Laws he was entitled to his food, and that of four of his pupils, at the house of the patient while the latter was being healed, but if the wound was maliciously inflicted, the aggressor had to pay, and if the wound broke out again within a certain time, the fees had to be returned. The Chinese had a somewhat similar system I have heard. In those days, too, they had relieving officers who, anticipating the functions of our modern Poor Law Guardians, had power to levy a rate in kind on the land owners, for the relief of the "wretched and wandering poor." This long-suffering officer was described as "a pillar of endurance," and was told he must "suffer a reddening of the face without insult to his tribe,"—thus showing that the sturdy and abusive tramp was too well known. Each tribe was accountable and chargeable for the maintenance of their own sick, and the keep of the incurable. Sick maintenance included the providing of a physician, bedding, food and medical comforts, and powers were granted to restrain the sick from getting articles forbidden by the doctor such as uisquebaugh, our modern whiskey.

Almost every Leech had apprentices, mostly members of his own immediate family, and the office was mainly hereditary in certain families. Their knowledge was handed down by oral tradition and largely too by manuscripts most jealously guarded, some of which survive to the present day in our National and in Continental Libraries. Thus the O'Lees were hereditary physicians to the O'Flaherties of Connaught—"Ye ferocious O'Flaherties" from whom my Galway ancestors prayed to be delivered. The O'Shiels, who lived and flourished circa 1548, attended to the MacColgans of Westmeath ; the O'Hickeys were doctors to the famous O'Briens of Thomond ; the O'Cassidies in the fourteenth century were Leeches to the Maguires of Fermanagh, and the McIlroys to the great O'Neills of Tirowen. We are told that plots of ground were allotted to these men, and it is said that some of them even can be still identified. Our ancestors were proverbially a race easily roused to anger, and in the constant broils and internecine contests of those warlike days the Liagh or Leech, skilled to cure or deal with wounds, was an indispensable member of society and held a place of great honour and importance amongst the Ollaves or lettered classes. Desmond's medical man was assigned a whole townland in the heart of the famous Golden Vein that runs through Limerick, Tipperary and parts of Cork. At the present day members of some of these families practice their hereditary art in certain cases. Thus the O'Tullys in the West cure jaundice ; the McIlroys cure the rose or erysipelas ; and the McGoverns of Cavan are all-potent in cases of hydrophobia. I may here mention that in my own personal family, though only Celtic by virtue of intermarriages for over 700 years, we have for generations been credited with the ability to cure the so-called "king's evil," or in modern parlance, tubercular swellings. This we do by means of a thread from a handkerchief once dipped in the blood of King-Charles I. You are all no doubt aware that the Royal Stuarts, by virtue of their descent from Saint Margaret of Scotland, wife of Malcolm Canmore, had attributed to them the power of curing this malady by touch. It is on record that Dr. Johnston the lexicographer was touched for the evil by Queen Anne, the last reigning sovereign of the house of Stuart. In my boyhood I have constantly seen letters at my home praying for "the cure" from all parts of the Kingdom, and now and then from Australia and America. I gained much honour and esteem when first I came to these parts, and it got whispered round that I was son to "The Lady of the Cure" ; nowadays folk rather neglect me, and have got into the reprehensible habit of relying on the Tuberculosis Medical Officer. I don't blame them, for I fear I am myself somewhat of a doubting Thomas ; *Ubi*

tres Medici, ibi duo atheisti : " Where are three doctors, there are two unbelievers." Sir William Wilde tells us that the Irish names for diseases were singularly happy in presenting a word-picture of the most prominent symptoms ; for example, small-pox was named *bolgach* or the pustule disease and *gálar breácht* or the speckled disease. Tuberculosis was known as *anfobracht* or *anbobracht*—i.e., destitute of fat, and the Brehon Code terms one so afflicted as " one who has no juice or strength." Most apt and terse terms you must concede. Gout in the hand was called *crúpán na lam*—i.e., crippling or crooking of the hands. In North Galway I used to hear *crúpán ná mbo* used for paralysis in cattle, when I was a boy. Epilepsy was named *Gálar Póil* or Paul's Sickness—alluding to the tradition that the Apostle was so afflicted. An epileptic was called "*talmáidheach*"—i.e., " one prone to the earth "—alluding to the fact that epileptics always fall forward on their face and never backwards nor sideways, as those wretches who simulate a fit to excite the pity of the charitable invariably do. *Duinebás*, or man's death, was applied to any wide-spread plague—most appropriately as I think. Ireland was densely afforested in those days and scarcely drained, save by the great rivers, hence malaria, "*Creith Lám*" or " the shaking hand " was one of the commonest of sickness. Of it died the heroic Owen Roe O'Neill and his protagonist the Cromwellian Ireton, of unholy memory ; and when, before the Boyne, William's army lay encamped on the North Merches of Dundalk, they died by the score and by the hundred of this disease now so very rarely seen in Ireland, save imported cases from Mesopotamia and the East.

Medicated baths were largely used, and sweat-houses abounded ; many still remain, mostly utilised in latter years as pig-styes. Trepanning of the skull was well known and often practised with success. In the old annals there are many references to splints, and amputation is advised in cases of gangrene ; cupping and bleeding was in use ; indeed up to as late as 50 years ago it was resorted to annually, and a special class of phlebotomists made their rounds in my own memory. The most formidable of all midwifery operations, Caesarian Section, was successfully performed on Eithne, daughter of King Eochaid Feidlech. You see these men did not fear to undertake abdominal section. Irish Medical Manuscripts going back as far as the eighth century are extant. One such of ancient date says, " May the merciful God have mercy on us all. I have here collected practical rules from several works, for the honour of God, for the benefit of the Irish people, and for the love of my friends and my kindred. I have translated them from the Latin into Gaelic from the authority of Galen his practical panteon and from Hippocrates the Greek. These things are gentle, sweet, profitable and of little evil, things which have been often tested by us and our instructors. I pray God to bless those doctors who will use this book ; and I lay it on their souls as conjuration that they extract not sparingly from it ; that they fail not on account of neglecting the practical rules herein contained ; and more especially that they do their duty in cases where they receive no pay on account of the poverty of their patients. I implore every doctor that before he begins his treatment, he prays God, the Father of Healing, to the end that his work may be finished prosperously. Moreover, let him not be in mortal sin ; and let him implore the patient to be also free from grievous sin. Let him offer up a second prayer and implore the Heavenly Father, the Physician and Balm Giver for all mankind, to prosper the work he is entering on and to save him from the shame and disgrace of failure."

Can you beat that for good sound advice and Christian principles ? These men and their pupils spoke Latin as their common vulgar tongue in their schools. Greek was a rare accomplishment even in Italy until after the fall of Constantinople, yet here we see an old Irish doctor in 1303 able to translate from the Greek of

Hippocrátes! Note the large-heartedness of this ancient physician and his insistence on attention to the most minute details, which, as all know, make for success in operations. Now as then—I thank God,—the modern Irish doctors carry out strictly the wise injunctions and the noble-hearted charity of their predecessors in the long ago.

It is recorded that St. Cámin of Innish Caltra died in the year 653 of St. Anthony's Fire (erysipelas), which was named "teine buirr" or "fire of swelling," an excellently descriptive name. It withered away his body, so that his bones fell asunder when laid in the grave. Evidently his disease was complicated by ergotism. When large numbers died at a time, they were buried in a "tamlácht," i.e., "plague ground." There is a townland of Tamlácht McCully, near the western borders of Louth I think. Crom Conail or the yellow mange of Conail (a King) carried off two-thirds of the people in A.D. 554, and, being contemporaneous with the great plague of Justinian, was in all probability the disease he refers to. The year 700 was so severe that the sea could be crossed on ice from Scotland to Ireland, and "Readibuth" or the "furious death" killed both man and beast in huge numbers in 946.

Diáncecht is said to have recognised fourteen different diseases of the stomach, and had a famous porridge he prescribed in such cases. According to the Brehon Laws the physician's probe might be seized in distraint for debt, other of his tools apparently, were exempt from seizure.

Bulláns, i.e., holed stones, and stones of various shapes and colours were rubbed on as charms. For hip joint disease green and black stones gathered in a running stream were used, by being rubbed on the limb, the leech saying:

"Wear away! wear away!
Here you shall not stay,
Cruel pain away, away!"

One physician expelled a demon by giving his patient a decoction made from the roots of apple and alder trees boiled with the brains of a wild hog. This was to be drunk fasting, until the afflicted one vomited freely. I am sure no self-respecting demon would stay on under the circumstances.

To enlarge on my list would be tedious and cause weariness of the flesh to my long-suffering audience, who have up to now being so patient with me, and so I shall pass on to some of the more interesting of the cures I have myself collected during my residence of nearly thirty-nine years in your County

First on my list I find is

HOW TO WIN LOVE.

"Oh Christ, by your five wounds, by the nine orders of Angels, if this woman is ordained for me, let me hold her hand now and breathe her breath. Oh Love I set a charm to the top of your head; to the sole of your foot; to each side of your breast, that you may not leave me, nor forsake me. As a foal after the mare, as a child after the mother, may you follow and stay with me till death does us part. Amen."

or

"This is a charm I set for Love; a woman's charm of love and desire, a charm that God alone can break, you for me and I for thee and for none else. Your face to mine and your head turned from all others save me alone. Amen."

A WORD TO THE BALD.

"Get calcine a raven, his ashes boil in sheeps' suet and rub to the head and it cures."

also

With mice fill an earthen pipkin, stop the mouth with a lump of clay and bury

beside a fire, but so as the fire's too great heat reach it not. So let it be left for a year, and at a year's end take out whatsoever be left. But it is urgent that he who lifteth it have a gloved hand, lest at his fingers ends the hair come sprouting out.

TO HAVE MONEY ALWAYS.

Kill a black cock, go to cross-roads where a murderer is buried, throw the bird over your left shoulder holding a piece of money in your hand, all the while invoking the Devil, and ever after you will never be without at least that much in your pocket

APTHŒ, THRUSH OR FOUL MOUTH.

For this disease, so common in young children, especially artificially reared infants, the cure is sufficiently simple. It is only necessary for a child that has never seen his father (i.e., a posthumous son) to breathe upon and spit fasting spittle into the patient's mouth. N.B.—The operator must not have the decline—i.e., tuberculosis.

I have often wondered was this an imitation of some of our symbolical Baptismal Ceremonies, so familiar to us all.

EPILEPSY, THE FALLING OR BLESSED SICKNESS. (GALAR PÓIL.)

This terrible malady has been known and its clinical characteristics accurately described since the days of Hippocrates and Galen—probably long before their time. Many great men of past ages are reputed to have been sufferers from it. I may instance Hannibal, Julius Cæsar, the Apostle Paul, Mahomet, and the great Napoleon, who, by the way, is said to have had two severe attacks before the epoch-making battle of Leipsic, one before his downfall at Waterloo. Pius IX is said to have had attacks of Petit Mal in his youth. The present Emperor of Germany is said to be a sufferer; perchance it is one of the causes of this terrible Armageddon. Many another commanding genius has so suffered, and doubtless hosts of "mute inglorious Miltons." As it is the unfortunate inheritance of the neurotic and those great minds whose wit, the poet tells us, is near allied to madness—in this connection let me instance Dean Swift.—naturally the cure must be one tending to make a profound impression on the mind and more especially on the emotional faculties. As I have been instructed, the patient should be brought towards the end of the first quarter of the moon, to the family burial ground. There, after praying, as fervently as may be, a shallow grave is dug and the patient lying in it, is lightly covered over, all but mouth and nose, with mould. Note that the grave must point north and south and so the patient does not face the east, as all Christian corpses do, nor the west as Christian priests do, facing their congregations, but as our pagan forbears did before the days of Patrick of blessed memory. This to my mind shows the cure to be of very ancient date. I desire to point out *en passant* that two tombs in St. Nicholas' graveyard, Dundalk, are so laid out, and one of them I have heard belongs to the Tipping family of Bellurgan Park.

Should this cure not be effectual, you can try that advised by old Diáncecht aforesaid, who, according to Col. Wood-Martin, ordered portion of a warrior's skull ground to dust to be administered in mead.

(Wood-Martin says the custom of burying a patient was a rite commonly employed for insanity also, and to avert the curse from cursing stones and the harmful power for evil of a Cuingcaishan, i.e., one born on Whit Sunday.)

MUMPS, THE CYNANCHE OR DOG-CHOKE OF THE GREEKS.

The patient, having been anointed with pig dung, has a straw sugaun or rope tied round the neck and is lead three times round the pig-stye. An Irish rhyme is

recited. I have failed to get it, but I know it begins thus: "Mucka Mukish lechnaneen agus lechnaout."

STYE ON THE EYE.

This should be rubbed with a gold wedding ring, or in the alternative three (or some multiple of three) gooseberry thorns pointed at it. It is remarkable that in all lands and ages three and seven and their multiples have been looked on as mystic numbers.

WHOOPIING COUGH, CHIN OR CHINK COUGH.

As all doctors know, this disease is most difficult of cure, other than by what the old doctor told the lady was good for it—viz., "three months, madam." Naturally, therefore, there are hosts of remedies, legitimate and otherwise. One is to meet a man riding a horse—provided the rider is not red-haired—and question him: "Kind Sir, what is good for the Chin Cough?" and whatever he suggests, from castor oil to Punchestown whiskey, may cure—or it may not. If this fails, pass the child three times under a mare ass's belly. Some recommend tying its gossip's—i.e., Godparents', garters round the neck. Hereabouts most faith is put in ferrets milk. One may ask, "But how milk a ferret? they are kittle cattle to handle." When properly instructed the affair is quite simple and may be effected "*tuto cito et jucunde*," for ferret's milk in this instance does not mean the mammary secretion of the sporting beastie, but the milk that has been given to it as food, and out of which it has drunk. During epidemics a poaching friend of mine makes far more money than I do, who am bound hand and foot by the "oath of Hippocrates" that I swore to obey more than forty years ago.

HERPES, ZOSTER OR SHINGLES OR BELT OF MERCURY.

This rather painful and most annoying trouble occurs mostly in neurotic folk, of what used to be called the rheumatic and gouty diathesis—terms now out of date and old-fashioned—for a time—a crop of papulus running into pustulus and finally scabbing and gradually drying off, and leaving a brown stain on the skin, running hemi-laterally round the body following mostly the course of the intercostal nerves of the ribs. The old saying was that if the belt completely circumscribed the body the patient would die; possibly that may be so, but in fact it never does, and no one dies of it, though many suffer much and sore. I had the cure from a Mrs. Byrne of Bellurgan, and a great deal of persuasion was needed to get the lady to give full particulars. Here they are:—First get a black cat without e'er a white hair at all in him—apparently a male cat—then a kittoge, i.e., a left-handed man, that is easily got, bleed nine drops of blood from the tail of the (no doubt) loud-protesting cat. Nine knots of barley straw are burned to ash, and a paste is made with the blood and a little holy water. This paste is then rubbed with a gold wedding ring three times round the affected part, working always from left to right as the sun goes, invoking the name of the Blessed Trinity at the same time. In one case which I failed to cure promptly by orthodox remedies, the patient and his wife assured me the "cure" acted within an hour. I examined him carefully and certainly he was cured, nor was there any brown staining of the skin which generally persists long after cure is effected, and he as certainly had not used my medicine. This, I humbly submit, accounts for my failure to give satisfaction to the anxious friends. It gave a blow to my reputation which I did not easily recover from, though it much enhanced that of my rival James Cunningham, the wise man.

A child born during the three days of Whitsuntide is called a Kinkisha. He is an unchancy, unlucky mite. If he throw a stone or strike a blow it may cause terrible wounds and even death. The remedy is to kill a bird in his hand and smear it with blood.

A child born with a caul will never be drowned. The privilege can be bartered with the caul for cash down.

A child born a footling is bound to be a traveller and wanderer on the face of the waters. Also he can cure lumbago by trampling on the patient's back, a rough and ready form of massage.

During the labour the lady must wear some garment of her husband's. The pangs are thus shared with the male parent. Wood-Martin says this belief is acted on in many lands from China to Peru.

Babies must necessarily cry and be very troublesome till christened, and so released from the powers of sin and the devil. If a baby does not cry when aspersed with the holy water he is thought likely to die soon. Probably his passivity is an indication of natural feebleness.

ERYSIPELAS OR THE ROSE—TEINE BUIRR OR FIRE OF SWELLING.

The ancient Leeches, as I have already pointed out, very often specialised on certain diseases, much as the fashionable physicians and surgeons of these days do. There is nothing new under the sun, says Solomon. The McElroys were experts on the treatment of 'teine buirr' or "fire of swelling," their fame rang through Europe. I well remember when I was at death's door many years ago with this fell disease, that many friends in humble life tearfully besought me, almost on-bended knee, to try one of the clan McElroy, but my wife preferred to rely on the advice of that Nestor of our profession, still happily amongst us in a green old age, my valued and honoured friend Dr. Matthew Kearney and of my lamented friend John Sellars, whose memory is dear to most of us. I had long heard of this wonderful "cure" and it cost me much coaxing and more than a quart of good Irish whiskey to find out the exact *modus operandi* from a coy Cooley man, and I may tell you confidentially that was the only fee I could extract from him. As he put it to me "Sure your honour, doctor, dog does not eat dog." Incidentally I got hold at the same time of a Gaelic charm in rough verse. My informant was not himself a Gaelic speaker, but had it, in a probably corrupted form, from his grandsire, who was a fluent speaker of the old and, thank God, still living tongue, so dear to hearts of all true Gaels the wide world over. Those of you who are more familiar with the Gaelic than I unfortunately am, will I hope correct me if wrong, and I solicit criticisms and emendations. "Well, doctor," said he, "a boy of the McElroys be to go to a bog, at the full of the moon, carrying in his hand four pebbles. He lays one down and taking a step into the bog casts a pebble over his left shoulder and immediately stoops and lifts a handful of the bog mould, "In the name of the Father," he says, and so on, invoking at each step the Son and the Holy Ghost until he has his three fistfuls safe in a clean cabbage leaf. He must then afterwards make this into a thick paste with holy water, and heavily coat the sore spot with it, saying the following words as well as he can :

"OCTAR UACCTAR, tainic a Solamhan go dtí Eireann
"Tabair leat an cinnear."

which has been translated for me as meaning :—

To the lower and the upper (spirits I appeal),
Solomon come to Ireland and bear away with you
the sickness.

FOR THE RED RASH.

"Who will heal me from the red, thirsty, shivering cold disease that came from the foreigner and kills people with its poisonous pain? The prayer of Mary to her Son, the prayer of Columkille to God these will heal thee. Amen"; or

“Bridget, Patrick, Solomon and the great Mary banish this redness off you.” After this prayer the affected part is to be anointed with butter.

“The fire of earth is hot, and the fire of hell is hotter; but the love of Mary is above all. Who will quench the fire? Who will heal the sick? May the fire of God consume the evil one. Amen.”

Bog mould is an excellent antiseptic, and it is our modern practice to exclude the air from erysipelas with soothing emollient unguents. The incantation would be useful for its mental impression on the patient. Solomon, as we all are aware, was believed by the Arabs and most Mahomedans to have possessed great magical powers.

I have known “all flower water”—that is, cows’ urine, to be ordered. As the cow eats most herbs and flowers, their virtue passes through her and some of them are bound to be of service.

HYDROPHOBIA.

Smothering between featherbeds was the treatment. Such was the fate of my great uncle, Walter Blake, in the early years of the last century.

TOOTH ACHE.

Is easily cured if the tooth is rubbed with the phalangeal bone of a dead hand.

AN OLD IRISH CHARM, GIVEN BY LADY WILDE.

“May the thumb of the chosen Thomas in the side of guileless Christ heal my teeth without lamentation from worms or pangs.”

I have not quite exhausted my list, but I trust that some of the facts I have laid before you will make you proud of those great men who in barbarous times and under the greatest difficulties held aloft the torch of learning, to light up the dark places and bring the healing touch to the lowly and the suffering poor of our dear native land.





Fragments of a Lost Register of the Diocese of Clogher.

INTRODUCTION.



MR JAMES WARE tells us¹ that his account of the bishops of Clogher up to the episcopate of Patrick O'Cuilleán² is founded mainly on a Register of the Diocese. This Register cannot be found; but I propose now to print such portions of it as are still extant. I may anticipate the information which will be elicited from them so far as to say that the Register was compiled by Bishop O'Cuilleán and his archdeacon, Rory O'Cassidy,³ and that it was written by the latter in the year 1525.⁴ Since O'Cassidy had a considerable share in the preparation of one of the best manuscripts of the *Annals of Ulster*,⁵ we may be confident that, whatever its value may have been from the point of view of a historian, the Register, as regards accuracy of penmanship, was a good specimen of the art of the scribe.

I have made use of the following authorities :

D. Trinity College, Dublin, MS. E. 3. 20, ff. I-II. Here we have a series of excerpts from a *Registrum Clochorensis* which contains all the material—if we except one passage⁶ which will come under review later on—which Ware may be supposed to have derived from the lost Register. Moreover one of the excerpts⁷ contains a list of the bishops of Clogher, with biographical notes, which ends with the accession of Patrick O'Cuilleán, the precise point to which the Register carried Ware. There can be no doubt therefore that these excerpts were copied from the volume which he used. They are our principal authority for Extracts i-viii, xi, printed below.

D belonged to Archbishop James Ussher. This is proved by the notes which he wrote in its margins.⁸ Moreover he quoted three passages from it in one of

1. *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, 1665, p. 41.

2. See below, p. 243, note 48.

3. See below, p. 233, note 3.

4. See Extract x.

5. Whether he actually wrote the 'greater part' of MS. B of the *Annals*, or merely supervised the work is not clear. See the contradictory entries in *Ann. of Ulst., s.aa.* 1528, 1539, 1541, and the remarks of B. MacCarthy in his edition, vol. iv, pp. iiii, ix.

6. Extract ix.

7. Extract ii.

8. They include the numbers of the leaves in the exemplar of D, and catch-words entered in the lower margins of some of the pages. Attention is called to others in the notes.

the earliest of his writings, *The Original and First Institution of Corbes, Herenaches and Termon Lands*.¹ And this fact enables us to fix approximately the date of D. The tract just mentioned was not published in Ussher's life-time; but the autograph is preserved in the Library of Trinity College.² The original draft, in which the quotations appear, was revised in 1609, in order, as it seems, that a fair copy of it might be made for presentation to Archbishop Bancroft.³ Thus D must have been written at least as early as 1608; and, if it was prepared by Ussher's order, it cannot have been in existence much before that year, for he graduated M.A. in 1600, being then in his twentieth year.⁴

The manuscript is full of blunders, due no doubt to the carelessness or ignorance of the scribes, for we can hardly attribute them to O'Cassidy. Three scribes divided the work between them. The first was an Englishman,⁵ who wrote the Latin text, leaving blank spaces for some words which he could not read, and for names written in Irish characters. He was followed by another, who supplied in English characters words which his predecessor had omitted, and wrote above the line transliterations of some of the names. Then came an Irish scribe, who filled the remaining blanks.

L¹. British Museum, Add. MS. 4789, ff. 109-115. Another series of Extracts, apparently written by Ware, who has certainly added marginal notes. It was copied from D. It contains Extracts i-v, a few lines of Extract vi (ending *intuentibus ecclesiam*), and the opening words (down to *dilectus fuit*) and another scrap (*sanctus Patricius ait to fundavit monasterium*) of the Lesson on St. Mac Cairthinn in Extract xi. The Irish verses in Extract ii are represented by the first word in each case, and many of the names of bishops are omitted in the same section. This MS. has of course no independent authority for the text of the Register, but it supplies some words of D which are lost through mutilation.

1. Printed in Elrington's edition of Ussher's Works, vol. xi. The quotations are on pp. 423f, 443. That at least two of them were taken from D, not from the original Register is shown below, p. 246, note 74.

2. MS. D. 3. 16.

3. See Works, vol. i, p. 28. Elrington's footnote leaves the impression that the treatise was written in 1609. The date applies to the later alterations, which may have been made some years after the first draft.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 14. The date may perhaps be fixed more accurately. George Montgomery, who in later years had a high opinion of Ussher's merits (Hill, *Montgomery Manuscripts*, pp. 104ff) was appointed Bishop of Clogher in 1605 (*Cal. of Pat. Rolls, Ireland, James I*, p. 54), and took possession of the see in 1606 (Ordnance Survey of Londonderry, i, 59). It is probable that it was from him that Ussher obtained permission to inspect the Register (see p. 228f.) Now on 4 July, 1605, a Commission was appointed for the division of the County Monaghan. In their report (12 March, 1607) the Commissioners tell us that Montgomery, in right of his see, had claimed the termons of the county, 'appointed first (as it should seem) for maintenance of hospitality,' and that in support of his claim, he had put in 'an ancient register book of that bishopric, wherein these termons are mentioned with several rents and other duties belonging to the bishop out of the same' (*Cal. State Papers, Irel.* 1606, p. 187). The case was still undecided on 1 July, 1607, when Montgomery wrote to Salisbury, stating on the authority of the 'Register of 200 years,' that the bishops, 'as true Land-Lords, have alwaies had sole possession' of the termons, 'placing, and displacing tenants, receiving their rents, their hospitia, with all fees, and services accruing due unto them out of the same, sometimes augmenting, sometimes diminishing their rents at their pleasure' (*State Papers, Irel.*, vol. ccxxii, f. 96; *Cal. St. Pap., Irel.*, 1606, p. 214). It may be assumed that the Register referred to is that with which we are concerned, which certainly gave such particulars regarding herenach-lands (see below, p. 246). If so it must have been inaccessible from the end of 1606 to the end of 1607. Probably, therefore, D was written, and the Register inspected by Ussher, before or immediately after his visit to England in 1606 (*Ussher's Works*, ed. Elrington, vol. i, p. 25). For my knowledge of these interesting references to the Register I am indebted to the Rev. J. E. McKenna, P.P.

5. He wrote two notes in English (see below, p. 249, note 99), and apparently could not read Irish.

The date of L¹ cannot be determined with certainty. But it seems clear that Ware borrowed D from Ussher with the intention of transcribing it, and being obliged to return it before the copy was finished, had no other opportunity of completing his work. This would suit the early months of 1639. In the spring of that year Ussher left Ireland for the last time, and his library followed him to England in 1641.¹

L². British Museum, Add. MS. 4789, f.129.

K. Archbishop King's Collections (vol. xiii of the King-Harris Collectanea, in the National Library of Ireland), p. 335.

These two manuscripts may be taken together, as there is a manifest connexion between them. They give us the same portions of Extract xi, viz. The Hymn on St. Mac Cairthinn, the opening lines of the Lesson which follows it, both breaking off after the words 'dilectus fuit,' and the note appended to the lesson (p. 257). The dates, as we shall see, prove that L² could not have been copied from K, and that K was copied from L² is improbable if we may judge from one or two readings in which they differ from one another. It follows that they were derived from a common exemplar. That this exemplar was not the Register is shown by the fact that they contain exactly the same portion of the Lesson, which was given in full in the Register.

L², both text and marginal notes, was written by Ware; and it seems to be of earlier date than L¹. For Ware, apparently in the act of writing L¹, added at the end of Extract ii, after the name of Patrick O'Cuilleán, the words 'qui vixit Anno 1528,' a fact which he may have learned, and probably did learn, from L².

K was written by, or for, Archbishop King (1660-1729). His collection of documents seems to have been made before 1703².

Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, 1639, cap. 17 (Works, vi. 417). Certain events of the episcopate of David O'Bragan³ are here mentioned by Ussher, which he found recorded 'in regesto Clochorensi,' but which are not mentioned in D. I have printed the passage, omitting some phrases which are obviously glosses, as Extract ix. The style of the Latin is so different from that of the other extracts, and so much better (as it seems) than anything that O'Cassidy could have written, that Ussher may be supposed to give us rather the substance than the words of the original. When, therefore, we read, more than once, in Ware's writings,⁴ sentences which agree almost *verbatim* with Ussher's language in this place, we must conclude that he was quoting from Ussher rather than from the Register. This conclusion will be confirmed by facts to be mentioned later.

Harris, *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, 1764, vol. i, p. 187. Harris here reports the concluding words of the Register. See Extract x.

The enumeration of the authorities on which the following collection of Extracts from the Clogher Register is based suggests a question, which I may now discuss: What was the extent of the knowledge of that document possessed by Ussher, Ware, King and Harris? Had they studied, or even seen the Register, or did they depend entirely on passages copied from it by others?

In regard of Ussher the question is easily answered. The foliation of the volume written by O'Cassidy is entered in the margin of D. The figures are not in the hand of the scribe of the text: they were written by Ussher himself. Moreover, in a

1. Ussher's Works, vol. i, pp. 207, 221; Book of Trinity College, p. 148; *Proceedings R.I.A.*, 3rd ser., vol. vi, p. 260. It may be noted that L¹ was almost certainly written before 1644. See p. 244, note 48.

2. G. T. Stokes, *Worthies of the Irish Church*, p. 295.

3. See p. 240, note 4.

4. *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus eius Disquisitiones*, 1658, p. 85; *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, 1665, p. 46. The source is not indicated in either place.

note, which is certainly his, opposite the Memorandum with which Extract v concludes, we are informed that it was penned by a later hand.¹ Thus it is evident, not only that Ussher had inspected the original, but that he had to some extent compared D with it. Why then, it may be asked, did he not correct the many mistakes which disfigure his own collection of excerpts? The answer may be that when the opportunity of examining the Register offered itself, his chief desire was to acquaint himself with the parts of the volume which were not included in D, rather than to make more perfect the knowledge which he already had. He may not have had time to do both. At any rate that, while still a young man, he had read passages of the Register which D does not preserve, and had probably made notes of them, admits of no question. In his *Original of Corbes* we read,² 'It now resteth that I should show who had interest in the profits of these church lands, where for latter times it appeareth by the Register of Clogher and other records that the Herenaches held the lands,' etc. 'Out of the profits thereof they maintained hospitality, kept up their part of the fabric of the churches and yielded a yearly rent to the bishops; a certain portion of free land remaining unto them selves which they called *honorem villae*, not chargeable with any rent.' He then makes quotations from the Registers of Armagh, which corroborate some of his statements, but not those which I have reproduced³; and he concludes,⁴ 'By these evidences, and others that might be produced out of the register of Clogher, which for brevity I omit, may easily be collected in what sort, and upon what terms these church lands have been held in latter days.' Now of the statements of which Ussher withholds proof none, except that the herenachs paid rent to the bishops, can be substantiated by passages contained in D. The fact is that before Ussher wrote these words he had quoted the only sentences of D in which herenachs are even mentioned. He must have known, and have been prepared to produce, passages of the Register which have not yet been identified in D or elsewhere. We are not surprised therefore that elsewhere he brings to our notice one such passage⁵: and we are prepared to believe that he quoted it at first hand, though not *verbatim*, from the original source.

We come now to Ware. It is obvious that he had not access to the Register when L¹ was written; for it was copied from D. His notes also betray his ignorance. When he observed, for example, that Bishop O'Cuilleán 'was living in 1528'⁶ he was apparently relying on L², which certainly gives conclusive evidence on that point.⁷ But if he had examined the Register he would have learned that the Bishop was alive in 1525.⁸ At that time he was apparently unaware that L² was derived from the Register. Further reflection, however, seems to have convinced him that it was. So he cancelled the note just referred to, and wrote another in its place, which expressed the opinion that the Register was written in 1528, evidently supposing that Bishop O'Cuilleán wrote it.⁹ This was a very natural conclusion from the facts which he knew. But a glance at the Register itself would have shown him that it was erroneous. It was written, not in 1528, but in 1525, and not by O'Cuilleán but by O'Cassidy.¹⁰ Thus in up to 1639, if that is the date of L¹, Ware had made no thorough examination of the Register.

1. See p. 247, note 78.

2. Works, xi, 435.

3. Except the payment of rent.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 439.

5. Extract ix. It is obviously not among these that are referred to in the *Original of Corbes*.

6. See p. 244, note 48.

7. Extract xi, p. 257.

8. Extract x.

9. See p. 233, note 4.

10. Extract x.

In 1658 he published his book on the Antiquities of Ireland. In that work he cites the Register as his authority at least five times,¹ and he evidently quotes it, without direct citation, in other places.² But I have observed no quotation from the Register which may not have come from L¹, with the single exception of the passage,³ already mentioned, in which he reproduces almost exactly a passage of Ussher printed in 1639. Twice, it is true, he contradicts L¹, but in each instance he seems to be silently correcting from other documents, and in neither was his correction supported by D, nor, in all probability, by the Register.⁴

We turn now to Ware's last work, the *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, published in 1665, the year before his death. In the section of this work devoted to Clogher he states that he made much use of the Register. But it is impossible to suppose that he depended on L¹ for his knowledge of its contents. It is sufficient to remind ourselves that L¹ omits many names of supposed early bishops of Clogher, which appear in the *De Praesulibus*. What then was Ware's additional source of information? Not, I believe, the Register itself: for in his list of bishops he includes Odo O Baighill, who seems to have been an invention of the scribes of D.⁵ It would seem therefore that he had recourse to that MS. This supposition is confirmed by other facts. In D the notice of the episcopate of Nehemias O'Bragan was accidentally omitted⁶: accordingly Ware has nothing to tell us about him which is likely to have been derived from the Register. Moreover on two occasions he appears to have made use of Ussher's marginal notes.⁷

Now we have good reason to believe that when Ware was preparing his *De Praesulibus* for press he had, for the first time since 1639, an opportunity of consulting D. As I have said, Ussher's library was removed to England in 1641. There it remained till his death in 1656. In 1657 or 1658 it was sent back to Ireland; but for some time after its arrival it appears to have lain in confusion at Dublin Castle. It is not probable therefore that before the publication of his *Antiquities* Ware had access to it. But in 1661 definite steps were taken for getting it into order and making it accessible to readers. In that year the House of Commons appointed a Committee to prepare a catalogue, and, as far as the printed books were concerned, this work was accomplished without unnecessary delay.⁸ Thus in 1661 or 1662 Ware might without difficulty have examined Ussher's manuscripts, and among them D.

In one place Ware supplies lacunae in D with material from some other source. It is in his account of Bishop David O'Bragan. He mentions the struggle of that prelate with Germanus O'Carolan, bishop of Rathluraigh, and with successive Primates, almost in the words of Ussher, which were undoubtedly based on the Register. But we have already given reason for thinking that here he is actually

1. pp. 32, 204, 217, 297, 305.

2. pp. 84f, 204, 297.

3. p. 84f (part of Extract ix). See above, p. 228.

4. On p. 204 he gives the duration of Edan's episcopate as 'annos circiter 42,' instead of 'xl annis,' guided no doubt by the Annals. Here he does not profess to quote the Register. In the margin of L¹ he had written 'obit circa 1179,' which is in agreement with the data supplied by L¹ and D, but differs from the Annals, which give the date as 1182. On p. 305 he makes Tigernach bishop of Clones instead of bishop of Clogher, which, in fact, is in accordance with all the evidence except that of the Register.

5. See p. 238, note 69, p. 239, note 6.

6. By homoeoteleuton. See p. 240, note 4.

7. See p. 241, note 15; p. 242, note 31. Cp. p. 233, note 10.

8. Book of Trinity College, p. 150f; *Proceedings R.I.A.*, 3rd Sec., vol. vi, p. 260f.

quoting from Ussher.¹ The indications just now produced that he had not seen the Register are additional evidence of the correctness of that surmise. He also tells us that O'Bragan died of paralysis. It is very probable that this statement had the Register as its ultimate source.² But we can hardly infer that Ware copied it therefrom: 'It is likely that other investigators besides Ussher had transcripts of parts of the Register, and Ware may have borrowed this quotation from one of them, or it may have been communicated to him by Ussher himself.

If I have succeeded in proving that Ware had no direct knowledge of the Register, it is unnecessary to spend much time in arguing that King and Harris were no better informed than he. King, as we have seen, did not transcribe the Hymn on St. Mac Cairthinn³ from the Register, and he gives us no hint that it was derived from that source, though a scrap on the preceding page is duly marked 'Reg. Cloch.' If he had had access to the Register he would certainly have copied from it more than the few lines traceable to it that are found in his Collectanea. As to Harris: from the fact that in his additions to Ware he quotes from the Register a single sentence otherwise unknown⁴ we must not conclude that he had examined it. In the immediate context he can give us no other reference for the 'Hymn of ten stanzas' on St. Mac Cairthinn than King's Collectanea. From the same source he takes the record of the consecration of the chapel of St. Mary's monastery, which may possibly have had a place in the Register⁵: everything else that he quotes as from it is in D.

Once it is granted that the Register of Clogher was no longer available for use at the Restoration period there is no difficulty in accounting for its disappearance. Every student of Irish history is aware of the enormous destruction of ecclesiastical records which characterized the years that followed the rising of 1641. Among those which perished then was no doubt the Register which had been compiled by O'Cuilleán and O'Cassidy in the first quarter of the preceding century.

Extracts i-x probably give us about a quarter of the Register as written by O'Cassidy, Extract xi being a later addition.⁶

It may be asked, whence did O'Cassidy derive the information which his Register supplies? Some of his sources, no doubt, would not satisfy the demands of a modern historian. An extract from Jocelin's Life of St. Patrick has little value.⁷ And the authorities which underly the earlier part of his list of the bishops of Clogher were worthless.⁸ But he made plentiful use of at least one collection of documents which we should be glad to have in our hands—a Register of Bishop Matthew MacCathsaigh I. From it he certainly copied Extract viii.⁹ In it also he probably found the documents on which he based his account of the building of the Courts of the

1. Above, p. 228. Ware, both in his *Antiquities* and in his *Bishops* (for the references, see above, p. 228, note 4) studiously avoids allusion to the Register in this connexion. Having omitted Ussher's 'in regesto Clochorensi' at the beginning of the passage he could not transcribe his 'ibidem recitatur' in regard of the *Actio* of O'Bragan against Reiner, Archbishop of Armagh. Accordingly he substitutes for it the word 'extat.' If understood strictly this would imply his belief that the Register was still in existence. But the statement cannot be pressed.

2. See p. 241, note 8.

3. Extract xi.

4. Extract x.

5. Harris-King, *Collectanea* (Nat. Lib. of Ireland), vol. xiii, p. 334: 'Molissa ó Cerbail *alias* ó Caroll episcopus Ergalliae et portea Archiepis copus Armachanus designatus venit ad Clochoram et ibi ordines contulit et donavit Cassulam et Mitram Monasterio St. (*sic*) Mariae de Clochor et promisit baculum conventui Monasterii ejusdem consecrauit templum ipsius coram pluribus clericis &c. presentibus Christins ó Macaran Abbate Cluainois &c. circa 1183.' Cp. Harris, *Ware's Works*, vol. i, p. 180.

6. See below, p. 254, note 66.

7. See Extract v.

8. See the notes below.

9. So he says, p. 253 (see note 51).

bishops of Clogher,¹ and the story of the finding of the relics of St. Constans.² From an episcopal Register he must have extracted his record of the disposal of Church lands in the time of Bishop Matthew³; from the Register just mentioned, if, as seems probable, that Bishop was Matthew I, and not his nephew Matthew II. He gives more information about Matthew I than any other bishop in his Catalogue, and he does not tell all he knew about him⁴: what he does tell was almost certainly derived from a contemporary Register. I do not find certain proof that he used the Register of any other Bishop of Clogher. But that he had in his hands contemporary documents is evident.⁵ Of most of them he may have found copies in the Registers of the Archbishops of Armagh. Thus his Register, though its statements cannot in all cases be accepted, must have been of considerable historical value.

Before presenting to the Society the fragments that remain I must make grateful acknowledgement of the help given me by my friends. Mr. Joseph T. Dolan's assistance at every stage of my work has been of much value. Miss Maud Joynt has enabled me to decipher and elucidate the Irish verses in the second extract. Both translation and notes are her work. The Rev. Dr. J. M. Harden spared time from his own literary labours to collate for me Ware's extracts from the Register in the British Museum, and he made known to me the Hymn on St. Mac Cairthinn, a copy of which is found in the same manuscript. Last, but not least, must be mentioned the Rev. J. E. McKenna, P.P., M.R.I.A., of whose learning and topographical knowledge I have made much use in the notes. His contributions are usually, but not always, indicated by the letter M.

H. J. LAWLOR.

1 Extract i.

2 Extract iii.

3 Extract iv

4 Extract ii, p. 242.

5 See Extract ix, and the records of the election and consecration of bishops in Extract ii.

THE FRAGMENTS.

fragmenta quaedam ex Registro Clochorensi decerpta authoribus fratre Patricio Calyn¹ Augustinensi ipso² Clochorensi ac Ruarico o Cassyde³ archidiacono eiusdem.⁴

EXTRACT I.
(Register, f. 6v).

Memorandum ad eternam rei memoriam quod Dominus Donatus⁵ quondam Episcopus Clochorensis. qui fuit postea ardmachanus. edificauit curiam suam in area quae est iuxta monesterium† de Clochor versus austrum et ibidem arbores seminavit, in quo quidem loco postea Dominus David o bpozan⁶ episcopus Clochorensis edificauit similiter curiam suam vbi perplures annos permansit, quae curia fuerat postea combusta, non ex malicia hominum sed per incendium cuiusdam tritorii cum multitudine bladi, cui postea successit Dominus Michael⁷ episcopus Clochorensis. qui proposuit ibidem edificare, vnde canat o nartazan abbas domus beatæ mariae de Clochor videns. si episcopus ibidem edificaret, quod incommodum fieret monasteriolo et magna coartatio concessit episcopo ad edificandum locum illum extra Ciuitatem qui dicitur oipepe naecurpac⁸ et similiter episcopus concessit illam aream sibi et conventui, et monasterio pro illo loco in quo loco praedictus Michael ad vitam suam inhabitauit, et postea successit ei in eodem loco dominus Matheus⁹ episcopus, qui predicta scripserat seu scribi fecerat secundum quod audiuit ab antiquioribus et fidelioribus de ipsa Civitate.

EXTRACT II.
(Register, ff. 9r-10r)

Episcoporum Clochorensium Catalogus¹⁰

Hic infra subscribuntur secundum ordinem omnes praelati, qui praefuerunt ecclesiae argalle¹¹ seu Cloch¹² quorum primus fuit Matheus,¹² cui consecrata fuit ecclesia Ludimensis† vnde erhoc†¹³ episcopus argalliae dicebatur Clochorensis

1. On Patrick O'Cuilleán, see below, p. 243, note 18.

2. Apparently error for *episcopo* (*ipō* for *epō*).

3. Ruaidhri Ó Caisid, archdeacon of Clogher died in 1541 (*Ann. of Ulster*). Cp. above, p. 226.

4. L¹ has the note in Ware's hand, underlined, and afterwards crossed out: 'Script (ut opinor) 1528' (cp. above, p. 229); also, 'per 32 annos tum proxime elapsos,' which, if it refers to O'Cassidy's tenure of the archdeaconry, is an erroneous statement.

5. Donatus Ua Fidhubra. See below, p. 240, note 2.

6. See below, p. 240, note 4.

7. Michael Mac an tShair. See below, p. 241, note 9.

8. I. oipepe na n-epoc, the Bishops' retreat. The Rev. J. E. McKenna tells me that the old episcopal residence probably occupied the site of what is now known as the Deanery.

9. Matthew Mac Cathasaigh I. See below, p. 241, note 12, and Extracts iii, viii.

10. This heading is in Ussher's hand in D. It appears also in the margin of L¹.

11. i.e. Argalliensis, adjective formed from Argallia, usually written Ergallia, = Airghialla or Oirghialla (Oriell), the district coinciding roughly with the counties of Armagh, Louth and Monaghan.

12. i.e. Mochta. The Martyrology of Gorman (19 Aug.) styles him 'lamp of Lugmad,' and the glossator states that he was bishop of Louth, as does also the glossator of the Martyrology of Oengus. But in his epistle, quoted in the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of Tigernach*, s.a. 534, he is called presbyter. He was a disciple of St. Patrick according to the epistle just mentioned, Adamnan, *V. s. Columbae*, Praef. 2, and *Tripartite Life* (ed. Stokes, p. 227). He died in 535. For his Life see *Codex Salmanticensis*, ed. C. de Smedt and J. de Backer, col. 903. Ware (*De Praes. Hib.*, 1665, p. 41) omits him from his list of bishops of Clogher, and states that the Register describes Mac Cairthinn as the first bishop of that see (no doubt referring to Extract xi).

13. Probably an error for *ex hoc*, which is the reading of L¹.

vel Ludinensis sicut in provinciali romanae ecclesiae continetur. secundus episcopus Ergalliae beatus Makartinus.¹⁴ discipulus beati Patricii, seu fortis athleta cui consecrata fuit ecclesia Clochorensis tercius episcopus ergalliae erat beatus Tigernacus¹⁵ totius hiberniae legatus, qui immediate successit beato makartino de cuius manibus sanctus Makartus† communionem accepit, et viaticum qui quantum in ipso fuit episcopatum cum sua benedictione reliquit eidem uero Tigernaco consecrata fuit ecclesia Cluainensis.¹⁶ item successit ei Sineltus†¹⁷ episcopus tempore cuius emanauit puteus aquarum uiuentium fons uiuis†, qui dicitur clair¹⁸ deargannglais¹⁹ et deargan sinyll nuncupatus²⁰ vel aclays id est fossa et deargann nuncupatus, quia beatus sinellus facta fossa pro aqua posuit scrinium sciam† deargann nomine in illa fossa, et tunc ad preces sancti puteus emanauit aquae uiuae qui dicitur glais deargann et nunc emanat, et vsque ad diem iudicii emanabit†. Idem quoque Sinellus resuscitauit filiam Regis Ergalliae a mortuis et am† viam patri restituit, propterea pater donauit ei et ecclesiae terram quae vulgari† dicitur calmeada rinnuil²¹ eidem vero sinello consecrata est ecclesia quae vocatur clarrinnritochne²² seu apud tochne.²³ Item beatus oeoedax m^c cairuil²⁴ praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi. quae† dicitur episcopus et etiam Clochorensis tempore cuius emanauit fons aquae uiuae, quae dicitur glanos

14. Mac Cairthinn. Died 506 (*Ann. of Ulster*). He is commemorated on 24 March, and under the name Fer da Chrich on 15 Aug. For a fragment of his Life see below, Extract xi, where the former day is given as the date of his death. The *Annals of Ulster*, Gorman, and the glossator of Oengus give him the title of bishop and connect him with Clogher.

15. Tigernach of Clones, died 549 (*Ann. of Ulst.*). He is styled bishop by the glossator of Gorman, but not by that of Oengus, nor by the Ulster Annalist. There is no ground for connecting him with Clogher. His Life (§12; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ii, 266) relates that his grandfather Euchodius or Echachus offered to expel Maenchatinus (*i.e.*, Mac Cairthinn), bishop of Clogher, and to give him the see, but that Tigernach declined it.

16. Cluainensis, anglicized Clones.

17. A learned spelling for Sinellus. This is apparently Sinell of Cloeninis (Cleenish) in Lough Erne, commemorated on 12 Nov. (Gorman). He is probably to be identified with Sinilis, with whom St. Columbanus studied after he left Leinster, and before he went to Bangor (Jonas, *V. s. Columbani*, i, 3) and with Sinellus, the teacher of a youth named Aedhan, who was cured of leprosy by St. Comgall (*V. s. Comgalli*, 54; Plummer, ii, 19); perhaps also with Sinlanus, abbot of Bangor, who died in 610 (*Ant. of Bangor*, ed. Warren, vol. i, p. x). All these Sinells are represented as contemporary with SS. Columba and Columbanus (*cp. Cod. Sal.*, 164; *V. s. Munnu*, 5 f, in Plummer, ii, 228), and the last three are brought into connexion with Bangor. None of them is called a bishop, and none is said to have had anything to do with Clogher. The *Annals of Ulster* place the foundation of the church of St. Sinell under the year 1100; but this probably indicates the date of a church, the ruins of which still exist, close to the well mentioned below, note 20. L¹ has the note 'Sinellus 4,' meaning that he was the fourth bishop, thus counting 'Matheus' as the first: but 4 is corrected to 3. *Cp.* above, p. 233, note 12.

18. clair = a pit; the word *aclays* further on is an attempt to transliterate it. All the legible words between clair and *nuncupatus quia*, except *vel* and *fossa et* are insertions by a later hand in spaces left for them. The same must be said of *scrinium sciam* below; *sciam* being corrected by a still later hand to *suum*. The words *vel* and *aclays* are marked for transposition.

19. Glais = glair, a stream. Dergann is perhaps a diminutive, oerγsān, from oerγs, red (the shrine being called 'the little red one' from its colour).

20. 'Sinyll nuncupatus' is from L¹; D is mutilated here. The reference is probably to the Holy Well at Belcoo in the parish of Cleenish (see note 17), which is the most noted well in Fermanagh. In the eighteenth century it was called Dabach Padraig, Patrick's tub (W. Wilson, *Post Chaise Companion*, 3rd ed., 1805, col. 100); but this name is now unknown locally. Stations are kept at it on the eve of the Assumption of B.V.M. (14 August). M.

21. The second a seems to be corrected from é. The words perhaps mean 'the tribute of the host of Sinell.'

22. The plateau of the island of Lochtan (?).

23. Written above the line. An error for Uocherinne?

24. Daig son of Cairrell, founder of Inishkeen, artizan of Ciaran of Saiger. See the Calendars at 18 Aug., and Life in *Cod. Sal.*, col. 891.

na ɣɪŋɣan²⁵ qui fons sibi consecratus est, eidem quoque ecclesia de ɪnnɪ cace ɪnnɣar maɣɪn²⁶ Clochorensis diocesis consecrata est Item²⁷ ecclesiae Clochorensi feidlines†²⁸ sanctus tempore cuius emanauit puteus aquae uiuae qui dicitur tibeaf†²⁹ filidelinius† cuius corpus humatum fuerat cum beato Tigernaco apud cloynes. vt libri referunt historiales. Item praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi beatus vltanus,³⁰ cuius boues furati sunt illi de Muinter laam alias de Mointirluan,³¹ et eos aduxerunt† ad insulam stagni, quae dicitur Dunlaun alias Dunluan³² quod tunc dicebatur lochcairmic qui sibi insequenti boues insulae additum† denegarunt† vnde ipse stagum† maledixit et fluxerunt vndique aquae stagni, ita quod facta est tarraf arida et tunc pede cum suis clericis intrauit insulam et furibus boues inficientibus capita de† mortuorum bovium mugitus³³ dederunt valde altos vnde ipsa in sua maledictione hoc carmen cecinit / Loch cairmíc corra³⁴

Loch cairmíc corraómach.³⁵

Leathan ainn a inn.

Muir utan olblach.³⁶

Mo mallact tam inn³⁷

Cui Capella de Druim nubhann³⁸ fuit consecrata. Item praefuerunt ecclesiae Clochorensi isti episcopi Sethne, et episcopus Earch, et episcopus Eirglean et

25. ɣɪŋɣan occurs as the name of a stream (in Co. Galway) : ɣɪŋɣan seems to be a diminutive.

26. ɪnnɣar is apparently corrupt. It may stand for a personal name. ɪnnɪ cace 1. would then be the island of the host of I. maɣɪn (probably the dat. of maɣen) is commonly used in Mid. Irish for 'a place.'

27. The word *praefuit* is omitted.

28. Written in pale ink in a space left for it. Evidently a corruption of Feidhlimidh, from which the adjective *fidelinus* (also in pale ink) is formed further on. Ware (*Ant.*, p. 305) identifies this Feidhlimidh with the patron of the episcopal see of Kilmore, giving his obit as 9 Aug. This date is a mistake for 3 Aug. : see Todd and Reeves, *Mart. of Donegal*, under the two days. The identification may be correct, but I do not know the ground on which it is based.

29. l. *Tipra*, a well.

30. Apparently Ultan of Ardbraccan, of whom we are told in the Martyrology of Oengus (4 Sep., gloss) that he succeeded Fursa in the abbacy of Louth. He was the teacher of Tirechan, and supplied him with materials for his Memoir of St. Patrick (*Liber Armachanus*, ed. J. Gwynn, pp. 17b, 21b). He died 657 or 663 (*Ann. of Ulst.*). He does not seem to have been a bishop. For the story told about him here see also Extract vii.

31. Muinterluinín or Arda Muintire Luinín, now Arda in the Island of Inishmore, Upper Lough Erne, and parish of Derrybrusk (formerly in the parish of Derryvullan), Co. Fermanagh. In Extract vii it is called Muinterluinín. One of the O'Luins of Arda wrote part of MS. B of the *Ann. of Ulster* (ed. MacCarthy, vol. iv, p. v). In Irishmore Island there are the beds of several dried up lakes.

32. In Extract vii ɣɣcom ɔulain.

33. Corrected from *muditus*.

34. 'The Lake of the son of Corra.' But probably we should read as the first line of the quatrain, taking cairmíc as the name of the lake. There is a faint line partly below and partly through the words.

35. l. corraómach.

36. l. olblach.

37. l. uain inn. As emended the lines may be rendered :

"Loch Caisimhich triumphant (contentious ?) !
broad and beauteous is its pool ;
I am Ultan of great renown
my curse from me therefor."

38. Probably Druim Dubhain the seat of Cehtumbar to whose care St. Patrick confided Cinnu, daughter of Echaid, a chieftain of Oriel who died at Clogher (*V. Trip.*, p. 177ff) ; now Nun's Hill in Clogher Demesne. M. See below, p. 248.

episcopus céṽach et episcopus Crimir, Rodan et Lascrinianus†³⁹ sanctissimus praeſuit ecclesiae Clochorensi. imo† toti hiberniae cum fuisset in loco Christi in tota hibernia duodecim apostolis sub eo constitutis unde de ipso beatus Patricius priusquam Lascrinianus† nasceretur [cecini]t hoc carmen Seu rithmum.

Močen orbe iṽuaṽach⁴⁰ ḡmān ḡnac⁴¹ -ḡeanamnois ḡlanṽolar. cpeṽal cpaṽṽeṽ⁴² coimurcleach feicmeor foṽlabuiteach anaṽrṽium ḡar mbennaṽt. in fṽorclepech naom ḡan impeṽain ṽr ar ḡpeic ḡeiorāin fe tuicraṽt ṽur. cpaṽṽeṽ⁴³ fe cpaṽr cpeṽme. in caṽhaṽe beḡ fṽioṽa fa faoḡaṽra ma maṽ toṽrṽa na []⁴³ bṽo ṽ beur ṽṽ inṽubṽarṽo ma loṽn Ciṽunne moṽṽuaṽach. ṽ ḡmā- [ṽar nī]⁴³ ḡrṽḡ paṽṽear paṽṽim fṽr moṽean.⁴⁴ Quo cean⁴⁵ illis de lochernne qui dicuntur fṽṽmānach a monachis beati lascriani Item praeſuerunt ecclesiae clochorensi Duo episcopi. scilicet. tiḡeṽna ḡ leṽt tiḡeṽna Item successit gloriosus episcopus virtutibus et miraculis coruscans scilicet cui m^c coneu⁴⁶ de natione ṽaimin cui consecrata fuit insula aṽnat q' nannaṽ,⁴⁷ Item praeſuit ecclesiae clochorensi Romanus filius ṽouṽ regis ergalliae⁴⁸ cui consecrata fuit ecclesia de ṽṽaurṽar⁴⁹ Item praeſuit ecclesiae Clochorensi beatus ṽṽamur⁵⁰

39. l. *Lasrianus*. This is no doubt Lassren or Molaise of Damhinis (Devenish Island in Loch Erne), who died in 751, and of whom St. Patrick prophesied, according to his Life (§2; Plummer, ii, 131). There is no reason to suppose that he was a bishop.

40. ch is written after first ṽ, and crossed out.

41. Corrected from ḡnacṽ.

42. l. cpaṽṽeṽ.

43. Letters lost by a rent in the MS.

44. The following rendering is all that can be safely attempted :

" Welcome, teacher of many gifts ! sun ever-chaste, pure, bright, religious, devout and kind, overseer of Fódla [Ireland] . . . of your (*pl.*) blessings ; the true-cleric, holy without contention, for it is at [his ?] judgement they will be with fervent desire, devout, with steadfastness of belief ; the warrior, little care in (= concerning ?) this life . . . his way of life . . . ; about Lough Erne of many tribes ; his word, [not] falsehood, is spoken (*i.e.* his word is not false ; or possibly : these words about him) ; I bid him welcome."

45. I cannot explain these two words. The remainder of the sentence gives a (false ?) etymology of the word Fermanagh. For its meaning see Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, i, 131.

46. Margin : ' enna uel cu.' Enna of Aran is commemorated on 21 Mar., and died in 542. He was the ' son of Conall the Red, son of Daimin ' (Oengus, gloss), and came ' from Clogher.' He is not described as a bishop. From Daimin Clogher derived its name, Clochar mac nDaimin.

47. These names appear to be unsuccessful attempts to transcribe those which stand opposite them in the margin : ' uel aṽna [marked for deletion], aṽna [l. aṽ] a[ṽ]ṽ na naom'—*i.e.* Aran, the height of the saints. The latter indicates Inishmore or Aranmore, the largest of the three Islands of Aran in Galway Bay, in which the townland of Killeany preserves the name of Enna. q' perhaps means *quod est*.

48. ṽouṽ is crossed out, and underneath *regis* is written ' alias ṽṽṽouṽ.' The ' bishop ' here mentioned is probably Romanus, son of a chieftain named Edus, who ruled a district near Galloon. He was baptized by St. Tigernach, and afterwards became abbot, apparently of Galloon. *V.s. Tig.*, 15 (Plummer, ii, 267). He must be identified with Ronan, who, with Tigernach, was the patron of Aghalurcher, near Galloon (*Ann. of Ulst.*, *s.a.* 1447) ; probably also with Ronan son of Aedh of Achad forcha (Gorman, 23 Dec.). A place of this name was in the parish of Enniskeen, bar. of Slane, Co. Meath (F. M. Cusack, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 391) ; but it may not have been the only place which was so named. Achad forcha closely resembles Achadhurchar.

This Ronan may have been the patron of Aghavea (Colgan, quoted in *Ir. Ecc. Rec.*, vii, 72). M. 49. Aghalurcher in the barony of Magherastephana, Co. Fermanagh.

50. Above this word is ' uel ṽṽamur.' This, as the context shows, is St. Aidan, the apostle of Northumbria, who died 31 Aug. 651 (Bede, *H.E.*, iii, 3, 5, 14-17). He was certainly not bishop of Clogher, for he was elevated to the episcopate on the occasion of his departure from Iona to Northumbria (*ib.*, iii, 5). That he had any connexion with Clogher is at least doubtful. The glossator of Oengus (31 Aug.) writes of him, ' Aedhan, from Cell Mor in Mennat Tire in Airgeill ; or in the north-east of England is Inis Medcoit [the Irish name of Lindisfarne], and Aedhan therein, *i.e.* at Inis Cathaig, or in the north-west of Little England is Inis Medcoit, and Aedhan therein.' The gloss on Gorman says more definitely that he was ' a bishop from Inis Cathaig.'

episcopus, cui consecrata fuit ecclesia de ceallmorpudolm⁵¹ iuxta verbum domini Exivit⁵² de hibernia in britaniam, quem honorifice recepit Vsualdus⁵³ rex et tunc fuit episcopus Hirforensis⁵⁴ cuius animam vidit sanctus successor eius postea deferri⁵⁵ per angelos ad regnum celeste. Item praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi macolcaba⁵⁶ Clericus germanus Donaldi mac eouiz⁵⁷ Regis hiberniae cui fuit ecclesiae de Druim noiter⁵⁸ consecrata, qui postea factus fuit comarba pater⁵⁹ vt patet per hibernicum carmen hoc.

Ἐὰν βλιαξαι ἄεξ ζαν ὀβειρε.
 Διὸδεαχ⁶⁰ ἐρίην νι ῥάξμοι⁶¹
 ον ἰ⁶² ζαδαρ εὐζυμ
 ἰ⁶⁰comarbur bunarō pater⁶⁴

Item praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi et etiam toti hiberniae sanctus et venerabilis vir Adamnanus⁶⁵ tanquam apostoliae sedis legatus cui consecratum est Cimiterium in capite plateae ciuitatis Clochorensis ex parte aquilonali. Item Crux consecrata est eidem in Cimiterio maiori iuxta cimiterium scrinarum contra hostium cimiterii

51. Above this word, in another hand, is 'uel ceallmorpudolm.' This is now Kilmore, in the barony of Monaghan. The barony was anciently called Ui Meith Macha, Ui Meithe Tire, or Ui Menna. See Hogan *Onomasticon*, s.v., and cp. the gloss on Oengus quoted in the previous note. Reeves has shown (Shirley, *Monaghan*, p. 315) that the patron of this church was Aedan son of Oengus, a disciple of St. Mochta of Louth, commemorated on 2 Nov. (Gorman), with whom the compiler of the Register has confounded Aedan son of Lughan (31 Aug.). But he errs in good company, for the glossator of Oengus makes the same mistake at 31 Aug., and Oengus himself has no commemoration of an Aedan at 2 Nov. There is no better ground for connecting Aedan son of Oengus than his namesake with Clogher.

52. Corrected from *exigit*.

53. Oswald king of Northumbria. See Bede, *ll. cc.*

54. This word, inserted later in a blank space, is evidently an attempt to copy some form of the name Lindisfarne.

55. Corrected from *deferti*.

56. Maelcobha was the grandfather of Dunchad abbot of Hi, who died in 717 (Oengus, 25 May, gloss). He succeeded his father Aedh as king of Ireland in 612, and was killed in battle in 615 (*Ann. of Ulst.*), evidently while still a young man. The Book of Invasions states, however, that he survived his defeat, and 'took upon him the yoke of religion' at Drumadillar (E. O'Reilly, *Irish Writers*, p. xli) O'Reilly says he was the author of three poems. His brother Domnald succeeded him in 628, and died in 642. It is clear that he was not bishop of Clogher in spite of the fact that the *Ann. of Inisfallen* (s.a. 628) support the statement of our Register that he was.

57. Above the line is written 'uel macolcaba'.

58. l. ὀριυμ noiter i.e. Drumadillar, par. of Devenish, Co. Fermanagh. M.

59. Maelcobha comarb of Patrick was a different person. He died in 888 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

60. l. διὸδεαδ.

61. l. ῥάξμοι?

62. The particle ὄο seems to have fallen out.

63. This letter is marked for deletion.

64. "Twelve years without banishment

. . . Erin they leave not

from the day I took upon me

the office of comarb on the foundation (or the hereditary office of comarb) of Patrick."

Reading ῥάξμοι⁶⁰ the first two lines must be rendered

"Twelve years without banishment

. . . Erin we find not."

65. Doubtless the biographer of St. Columba, who was abbot of Hi 679-704. He was not a bishop. The present notice of him is interesting as proving that he was held in high honour at Clogher, a fact of which, I believe, there is no other evidence. [Since this note was written Dr. E. Maguire's *Life of St. Adamnan* has come into my hands. His argument (pp. 31-47) has not convinced me that St. Adamnan or Eunan was a bishop.]

maioris beati Macartini qui et Adafananus† reliquit tintimabulum† ereum ecclesiae Clochorensi quod pulsatur quolibet die hora matutinali per circuitum ciuitatis contra famem et pestilenciam et alias adversitates ad incitandum corda fidelium ad devotionem dei et ad orandum pro fidelibus defunctis ritu ecclesiastico laudabili Item praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi $\text{D}\epsilon\text{A}\text{N}\text{A}\text{C}\text{H}$ ⁶⁶ cui consecrata fuit ecclesia de Domnoch $\text{D}\text{O}\text{M}\text{N}\text{A}\text{C}\text{H}$ $\text{M}\text{O}\text{R}\text{M}\text{A}\text{I}\text{G}$ ⁶⁷ praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi Altigren episcopus cuius parentela ignoratur Ciaranus⁶⁸ filius artificis cui consecrata fuit ecclesia de $\text{C}\text{L}\text{U}\text{A}\text{I}\text{N}$ $\text{M}^{\text{C}}\text{N}\text{O}\text{I}\text{R}$ Item Conall episcopus⁶⁹ cuius genus ignoratur $\text{A}\text{I}\text{R}\text{M}\text{E}\text{D}\text{A}\text{C}\text{H}$ episcopus⁷⁰ cuius genus ignoratur $\text{M}\text{A}\text{O}\text{I}\text{T}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}\text{H}\text{E}\text{I}\text{R}\text{G}\text{E}$ episcopus cuius genus ignoratur $\text{M}\text{A}\text{I}\text{T}\text{E}$ ⁷¹ episcopus cuius genus ignoratur $\text{A}\text{I}\text{R}\text{G}\text{A}\text{I}\text{T}\text{E}$ $\text{M}^{\text{C}}\text{D}\text{A}\text{R}\text{A}\text{I}\text{N}$ ⁷² episcopus cuius genus ignoratur Synach episcopus cuius genus ignoratur. Item episcopus $\text{C}\text{A}\text{I}\text{R}\text{B}\text{R}\text{E}$ episcopus $\text{M}\text{A}\text{O}\text{I}\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}\text{N}$ episcopus^{72a} $\text{C}\text{O}\text{N}\text{A}\text{I}\text{D}\text{O}\text{E}$ episcopus $\text{M}\text{O}\text{R}\text{M}\text{U}\text{I}\text{N}\text{N}$ episcopus⁷³ $\text{D}\text{U}\text{C}\text{H}\text{O}\text{I}\text{T}\text{E}$ (?) episcopus $\text{A}\text{I}\text{T}\text{I}\text{U}\text{I}$ ⁷⁴ episcopus $\text{C}\text{A}\text{I}\text{R}\text{B}\text{R}\text{E}$ episcopus $\text{A}\text{O}\text{N}\text{G}\text{A}\text{R}$ episcopus $\text{C}\text{E}\text{A}\text{N}\text{F}\text{A}\text{O}\text{L}\text{A}\text{I}\text{N}$ ⁷⁵

66. *Dianach*. Commemorated in the Martyrology of Gorman under 16 Jan. The gloss calls him bishop of Domnach mor Maige Ene, now Kildoney in the parish of Kilbarron in the Moy, Co. Donegal.

67. This is a correction (of $\text{M}\text{A}\text{I}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{G}\text{T}$?). The last four letters, as printed in the text, are expuncted, and above the line is written $\text{M}\text{A}\text{O}\text{G}\text{E}$ enne. The margin has 'vell $\text{D}\text{O}\text{M}\text{N}\text{A}\text{C}\text{H}$ MOR $\text{M}\text{A}\text{O}\text{I}\text{G}\text{E}$ ene.

68. Ciaran (d. 549) may have been included in this list through confusion between $\text{C}\text{L}\text{U}\text{A}\text{I}\text{N}$ $\text{E}\text{O}\text{I}\text{R}$ (Clones) and $\text{C}\text{L}\text{U}\text{A}\text{I}\text{N}$ MIC $\text{N}\text{O}\text{I}\text{R}$ (Clonmacnoise).

69. Here the list falls into confusion, the cause of which is easily perceived. The original scribe, after recording the episcopate of Conall, left five spaces, each followed by the formula 'episcopus cuius genus ignoratur'; then he wrote the word *episcopus* thirteen times, in each case followed by a space; then 'episcopus odo,' and finally *episcopus* twice, each time with a following space. Thus 20 spaces were provided to accommodate the names in Irish characters of as many bishops. But before the Irish scribe began his work another person proceeded to interlineate transliterations of these names. Unfortunately, however, he omitted one of them (Maelduin), and he put two others (Candfaelad and Conaidus alius) into a single space. Thus when he reached the last bishop (Murigah Macmail oCullean: for the true reading see below p. 239 notes 77, 78) three spaces remained. He got over the difficulty by writing *murigah* over the first space, striking out *episcopus* before Cristinus and putting *episcopus* in, and *macmail* over, the space which preceded it, and *ocullean* over that which followed. Thus was produced the extraordinary jumble 'episcopus murigah episcopus odo episcopus macmail ocullean.' The Irish scribe made mistakes of his own. After writing $\text{A}\text{I}\text{R}\text{M}\text{E}\text{D}\text{A}\text{C}\text{H}$ under Airmedeach he omitted two names. Hence the three following names come two places before the corresponding transliterations. The next name— $\text{C}\text{A}\text{I}\text{R}\text{B}\text{R}\text{E}$ —could not be placed in the following blank, of which the interlineator had taken possession for Synach: accordingly it is only one place before Cairbre. After it comes $\text{M}\text{A}\text{O}\text{I}\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}\text{N}$, which the interlineator had passed over; and consequently with $\text{D}\text{I}\text{A}\text{R}\text{M}\text{A}\text{D}$ (*Diarmad*) the two lists come together. From this point the Irish scribe faithfully follows his predecessor, repeating all his errors. But in the end he found himself with a name regarding which the interlineator gave him no guidance— O $\text{B}\text{U}\text{I}\text{G}\text{I}\text{L}$. He placed it above the line after Odo. This, as we shall see (p. 239, note 76), was an error.

70. It is said in the *Tripartite Life* (ed. Stokes, pp. 61, 257) that 'Ermedach, bishop of Clogher' wrote an account of the miracles of St. Patrick. After him the Irish scribe omitted two names (see note 69), which he afterwards inserted in the margin: ' $\text{C}\text{U}\text{M}\text{A}\text{C}\text{T}$ episcopus $\text{F}\text{A}\text{O}\text{L}\text{D}\text{O}\text{B}\text{A}\text{R}$ episcopus'; but the order is apparently inverted, for they correspond to the transliterations Faeldobar and Cunnacht. Faeldobhar seems to have been a monk of Clogher, who is commemorated on 29 June, and died in 702 (*Ann. of Ulst.*); and I suspect that $\text{C}\text{U}\text{M}\text{A}\text{C}\text{T}$ = Cunnacht is 'Conaing Ua Domnallain, herenagh of Clochar mac nDaimeni,' who died in 961 (*ib.*).

71. If the conclusions of note 69 are correct $\text{M}\text{A}\text{I}\text{T}\text{E}$ = Synach. It is obvious that either may be a misreading of the other.

72. Apparently Artgal, abbot of Clogher, who died in 770 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

72^a Perhaps the bishop of Airther Maige (Armoy, Co. Fermanagh) commemorated on 16 Jan. (Gorman).

73. Moran, abbot of Clogher, died in or shortly after 842 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

74. The first *l* is expuncted. *Ann. of Ulst.*, s.a. 868 (*recte* 869): 'Ailill of Clochar, scribe and bishop, abbot of Clochar mac nDaimen dormiuit.'

75. Cennfaclad, abbot of Clogher, died 931 (*Ann. of Ulster*). After him the interlineator inserts, in the line of writing, 'episcopus conaidus'; a mere repetition.

conaíde aúur alius episcopus tomolraeh episcopus cellaeh episcopus muirgach
 episcopus odo o buigill⁷⁶ episcopus matamail⁷⁷ episcopus oculteán⁷⁸ cristinus
 o moigair⁷⁹ episcopus cuius corpus inhumatum est in monasterio Apostolorum
 Petri et Pauli de Ardma, et reliquiae ipsius translatae continentur in maiori
 altari eiusdem monasterii qui etiam fuit vnicus germanus beati Malachiae
 archiepiscopi admachani† apostolicae Sedis legati, qui etiam legatus ab innocencio
 secundo impetrauit quartam episcopalem per totam ergalliam dari episcopus†
 clochorensi sicut in pontificali eiusdem ecclesiae combusta continetur, quam vidimus,
 legimus et approbauimus, et predictus Cristinus edificauit molendinum apud Clochor
 cuius aqua sanitatem praestat infirmis quod molendinum non molit bladum
 furtiuum sicut de facto vidimus qui crastinus† fuit praeceptor Scotiae .i. hiberniae
 sicut in martilogio continetur Λοθα η ceallai⁸⁰ episcopus qui decebatur† episcopus
 Ergalliae quoniam praefuit vtrique ecclesiae scilicet Ludunen† et Clochoren† sicut
 sui praedecessores fuerunt, qui dotauit monasterium de Cnoc iuxta lurbáθ de
 terris quas ei donauit Donnchad o cearbáit rex Ergalliae pro anima sua⁸¹ cumque
 inuixisset praedictus odo praedictum Cristinum in extremis positum, vidit sanctus
 Malachias annaltim†⁸² quem deferebat Cristinus salire ad digita† beati Λοθαγán⁸³
 et ideo ipsum in episcopum successorem consecrauit, et in episcopatu xl annis⁸⁴
 vixit maoitioira o cearbáit praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi qui consecrauit capellam
 antiquam monasterii sanctae mariae de Clochor⁸⁵ et electus in Primatem iuit versus
 Curiam et eodem anno mortus† est.⁸⁶ Ίστοιλαχοιορθη ηυα m'ετυραν⁸⁷ abbas de
 Cluaineois praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi vii annis maoitioira m'caneppuiz m'c

76. The surname is written above the line, no space having been left for it. I can find no
 Odo (Aedh) Ua Baighill who would be likely to appear in the present list. But the death of
 Cinaeth Ua Baighill, bishop of Clogher, is recorded under the year 1135 (*Ann. of Tigernach*).
 He seems to have been the immediate predecessor of Cristinus Ua Morgair, and the omission of
 his name would be difficult to account for. I infer therefore that the surname has been mis-
 placed. The words 'episcopus o buigill' may have been in the margin of the original Register
 opposite Cristinus o moigair. This would account for the fact that bishop O'Boyle was ignored
 both by the original scribe and by the interlineator, and for the position assigned to his surname
 by the Irish scribe.

77. The second Δ is above the line. Margin: 'uel maol.' The correct reading is obviously
 mac maol, followed by íru or some other name.

78. For the confusion at this place see above, p. 238, note 69. Muiredach O Cuillen was a
 herenagh of Clogher who was killed in 1126 (*Ann. of Ulst.*), and the compilers of the Register evidently
 supposed that he was the son of 'Mael Isu Ua Cuilen, eminent bishop of the North of Ireland,' who
 died in 1109 (*ib.*). It will be observed that he was a member of Bishop Patrick O'Cuilleán's family,
 to which circumstance we may owe this piece of information about him.

79. For this bishop see St. Bernard, *V. s. Malachiae*, c. 34. He died in 1138 (Four Masters)
 or 1139 (*Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, vol. ii, p. 258).

80. Aedh (Edanus) Ua Ceallaigh was nominated and consecrated by St. Malachy in 1139.
 He died in 1182 (St. Bernard, *l.c.*; *Ann. of Loch Cé*).

81. For the foundation of the monastery of Knock by Donnchadh Ua Cerbhaill in 1148
 see Four Masters at that year, and the note printed from an antiphony of Armagh (T.C.D. MS.
 B. 1. 1) in Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 391. The English translation of this
 note there given is re-printed in Stokes's *Martyrology of Gorman*, p. xx.

82. Margin: *annulum*.

83. This story is developed from Malachy's remark to Edan (St. Bernard, *l.c.*), Tu mihi
 a Domino designatus es, qui annulum suum aureum, quo desponsandus es, iam nunc praeuidi
 in digito tuo.'

84. Exactly, forty-three years. L' has the marginal note 'obiit circa 1179': but see note 80.

85. See above, p. 231.

86. Mael Isu Ua Cerbhaill was elected to the Primacy in 1184, and died in 1187 (*Ann. of
 Ulst.*). The words 'eodem anno' are therefore incorrect.

87. This is perhaps the correct form of Gillacrist's surname. But it may be an error for
 υα m'ic κυρσιν. The name is written Ua Muccaran in the *Annals of Loch Cé*. That he suc-
 ceeded in 1187 is proved by the Charter printed in *L.A.J.*, vol. iv, p. 143, which may be dated
 early in 1188. He died in 1193 (*Ann. of Loch Cé*). Thus the 'vii annis' of the text is approx-
 imately correct.

μαοιτσίραιν⁸⁸ abbas de Mellifonte. praefuit ecclesiae Clochoren† quatuor annis
 ζιοττα τίξηρναχ m^c ζιλλαρωναίν⁸⁹ secundo anno cuius temporibus Ricardus
 Pibard⁹⁰ baro de atrio dei⁹¹ introitu anglichanorum in hiberniam cepit edificare
 castrum in terris episcopi apud τομναχ ματσεαυον⁹² vbi nunc castrum est ipsius,
 et cum hoc audisset episcopus venit et nunciauit novum opus, cum ob hoc baro
 ab inceptione non cessaret episcopus procuravit se indui⁹³ pontificabilibus† et
 fossam intravit, ac iacens humi se prostravit. porro fossatores cum non possent
 laborare quia nemo voluit manus violentas iniicere in episcopum venit baro ipse
 et episcopum propriis manibus de fossa extraxit. Contra episcopus exclamando
 baronem maledixit ita quod ipse baro. 1^o. lepra percussus erat, et postea interiit,
 et vt creditur hac de causa nef de prosperitate†⁹⁴ sua possidet praedictas terras
 nec in eternum possidebit. Praedictus vero Tigernac fuit filius μαε⁹⁵ ζιοττα
 ροαιν⁹⁶ μεξ βεαε⁹⁷ δε μυθορν⁹⁸ in cuius area ex dono Δοθ Διλαρ⁹⁹ supradicti
 episcopi monasterium de Λουαε†¹ est fundatum et ibidem cum praedicto Δοθ
 contra fontem est sepultus. Item Donatus ο φρωδραιν² qui postea assumptus
 est in priorem³ et pro viribus contra iustitiam impugnauit ecclesiam Clochorensem
 Item Nemeas ο βροσαν⁴ scilicet germanus praedicti Nemeae qui viriliter et

88. Called Ua Maelciarain in *Ann. of Loch Cé*. The present passage shows that this is not a surname: he was grandson of Maelciarain. He died in 1197 (*ibid.*), which agrees with O'Cassidy's 'quatuor annis.' The Register ignores his successor Thomas, bishop of Clogher, for our knowledge of whom we are indebted to the charter (c. 1197) printed in *L.A.J.*, vol. iv, p. 147.

89. Bishop Gilla Tigernaich or Tigernach died in 1217 or 1218 (*Ann. of Loch Cé*; *Ann. of Ulst.*). Gilla Ronain is the name of his father: see below.

90. Probably an error for Roger Pipard. The story is told in a somewhat different form in Extract vi. L¹ has the marginal note 'circa anno 1200.' This may be right; for Roger Pipard was granted the tithes of Donaghmoynne and other churches in 1197 (*L.A.J.* iv, 147), and the 'second year' of Gilla Tigernach, supposing (as the compiler of the Register did) that he succeeded in 1197, would be 1199.

91. Ardee. Atrium Dei is the regular mediaeval Latin equivalent of Δε φρωεαδ, and not, as Hogan (*Onomasticon*, s.v.) seems to think, an invention of Ussher.

92. In Extract vi τομναχμαϊζιν, i.e. Donaghmoynne, in the barony of Farney, Co. Monaghan. Some remains of the castle (which was apparently a stone building; see Extr. vi 'loco lapidis,') or of a later one on the same site (*Ann. of Ulst.*, s.a. 1244) still exist in the townland and parish of Donaghmoynne. See E. P. Shirley, *History of Monaghan*, pp. 15, 526f, and Mr. H. Morris's article on Manaon Castle in *L.A.J.* ii, 263.

93. Corrected from *in dni* (= *in domini*).

94. Corrected by another hand to *posteritate*. L¹ corrects to 'nemo de posteritate.'

95. A repetition of *filius*.

96. Elsewhere ροαιν. The scribe has here omitted the stroke over *o* representing *n*.

97. MacBethadh. Apparently the surname (= Macbeth) of Gilla Ronain, father of Tigernach.

98. The letters ορν are above the line. The reference is to Mugdornai, the district which includes the baronies of Cremorne and Farney, Co. Monaghan.

99. l. ια Σελλαϊξ.

1. The Priory of St. Mary. The foundation of Knock is mentioned higher up.

2. Margin, in Ussher's hand: 'Vide Annal. Connacht. an. 1249.' The date of the accession of Donatus Ua Fidhubra is apparently not recorded. After postulation to the see of Armagh he received the royal assent and restoration of temporalities 20 Sep., 1227. He died in 1237, apparently on 17 Oct. (Cal. Close Rolls 1224, p. 201; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1225, p. 143; Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2417; *Ann. of Loch Cé*).

3. Above this word *primatem* was written by Ussher, and crossed out.

4. Nehemias was elected in 1227, and, after litigation at the Curia, confirmed and consecrated by the Archbishop of Tuam. Died 1240 (Theiner, *Monumenta*, 35, 40; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1225, p. 166). There is a hiatus here, for the following words apply to his brother and successor David. After the death of Nehemias there seems to have been a long interregnum, for in 1246 a bishop-elect is mentioned (Cal. Papal Letters, i, 224), and David Ua Bracain was bishop in 1252 (below, Extract ix). He died in 1267 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

efficaciter pro iure ecclesiae Clochorensis laboravit et⁵ ad vltimam corporis debilitatem detentus in⁶ archiepiscopi scilicet fratris μαοιραταμ[ε]c] ηυι ρσαννυιι⁶ privatus sigillo suo et sigillo capituli sui ad fabricandum fulfum⁷ contra ecclesiam Clochorensem. quibus sigillis episcopus et capitulum clochorensense postea vsi fuerunt⁸ et sepultus est in monasterio mellifontis quia monachus eiusdem monasterii fuerat Item praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi Michael μεαντραορ⁹ per fratrem Patricium archiepiscopum μαοιραταμ[ε]c] ορσανυιι cassata electione celebrata per Capitulum Clochorensense de Reginaldo μεσιλλαρενημ archidiacono suo sine licentia sedis apostolicae qui sic quasi intrusus vixit in episcopatu 17 annis et sepultus est in monasterio beatae Mariae de Clochor,¹⁰ oriundus de Civitate ardmachana sed originatim vt dicebatur ορλοινν de Mumomia.¹¹ Item praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi Matheus μεκαταραυο cancellarius ardmachanus oriundus de stirpe nepotis οορρεταμν¹² a decano et capitulo Clochorensi vnanimiter electus, cum fuisset in curia romana pro negotiis ecclesiae ardmachanae, et postea vocatus a curia propter hoc ad partes suas fuerat confirmatus, per Dominum Nicholaum¹³ archiepiscopum ardmachanum hiberniae primatem consecratus in monasterio sanctae Mariae de υιορσαυοι¹⁴ in festo apostolorum Petri, et Pauli in die Dominico anno Domini 1285¹⁵ per venerabiles presules Dominum Tigernacum episcopum Dromorensem¹⁶ et Dominum florentium episcopum Rapotensem¹⁷ et fratrem Mauricium episcopum Conorensem¹⁸ de mandato et voluntate supradicti archiepiscopi qui

5. Something is omitted here.

6. Archbishop of Armagh 1262-1270.

7. I cannot explain this word. L¹ has *fulsum*.

8. There is another lacuna here. Ware, no doubt, gives us the substance of some of the missing words of the Register when he writes, 'et paralyti oppressus naturae debitum persolvit' (*De Praes.*, p. 46). He must have had some authority for the statement; and it is difficult to find any other source from which it can have come. Cp. above, p. 231.

9. Consecrated 8 Sep. 1268 by the Archbishop of Armagh. Died 1288 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

10. Ware (*De Praes. Hib.*, p. 47) refers this remark to Bishop Michael, and Harris (Ware's Works, i, 183) rebukes the compiler of King's Collections (King-Harris Collectanea, vol. xiii, p. 334) for applying it to his rival. But the words 'sic quasi intrusus' favour the latter interpretation. Moreover the period of Michael's episcopate, according to the Annals, was not seventeen, but twenty years; see last note.

11. It is uncertain whether this clause refers to Michael or Reginald.

12. The Ui Dortain were a sept of the Oirghialla seated near Ardraccan, Co. Meath. For this bishop (Mattheus Mac Cathasaigh I) see also Extracts i, iii, viii.

13. Nicholas Mac Mael Isa, 1272-1302.

14. Lisgoole, on the shore of Upper Lough Erne, Co. Fermanagh.

15. What the scribe originally wrote is undecipherable; but the year was corrected, first to 1286 and then to 1285. Ussher notes in the margin, 'an. 1287 Jun. 29 dies fuit dominicus,' which is correct; and Ware accordingly gives 1287 as the year of the consecration. But 1285, 1286 and 1287 are all inconsistent with the date of the death of Matthew's predecessor (1288). The text is therefore corrupt. The custom of consecrating a bishop on Sunday was commonly observed; and O'Cassidy may have inserted 'in die dominico' on the assumption that it was adhered to in this case. But there were certainly exceptions to the rule: e.g. the Metz Pontifical, written between 1302 and 1318 (Ed. E.S. Dowick, 1902), has 'die dominica uel in festo celebri.'

16. Received the temporalities of the see at the hands of the Archbishop before 4 Oct. 1285 (Cal. Docs. Irel. iii. 2 (p. 10); Cal. Close Rolls 1279, p. 341). Still bishop 1291 (Swayne's Register, iii, f. 52).

17. Bishop in 1291 (Swayne's Register, l.c.). Died 1299 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

18. The bishop of Connor at this time was Peter de Dunach (1275-1292). It may have been on this account that Ware after writing (in L¹) *Conorensem* altered it into *Cenanensem* (sic). He reads *Cenanensem* in his *De Praes.* (p. 47) without any expression of doubt. But there is no record of a bishop of Kells (Cenanensis) after 1211 (see *Ann. of Loch Cé*, s.a.), and it is improbable that there was one sixty years later. A suggestion more likely to be correct is Maurice, bishop of Kilmore, who was appointed before October 1286 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281, p. 252). The style of a bishop of Kilmore (Triburnensis) causes our scribe some difficulty a little further on, and T in an Irish text is easily mistaken for C.

Matheus primitus fecit manerium apud ποροιριτι¹⁹ et postea edificavit in insula Makartini apud mucnum²⁰ edificavit insuper capellam sancti Makartini apud Clochor ad sepulchrum eiusdem makartini Cimiterum† ambiendo, et etiam lapidibus murando. Item edificavit maiorem ecclesiam cuiusdam Clochorensis et duas campanas fieri fecit ibidem pro quibus expendit 15 marchas et eo amplius et alia multa bona fecit praedictus Matheus quae hic omitto. Item praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi. Gelassius obanan²¹ tribus annis comorbanas† sancti Tigernaci de ctuainoir Item praefuit ecclesiae Clochorensi Nicholaus molar catarar²² archidiaconus Clochorensis qui electus fuit in monasterio apostolorum Petri et Pauli de ctuaneoir²³ in vigilia beati Mathiae apostoli anno²⁴ 1319 et eodem anno consecratus est in monasterio de uopzabnait²⁵ per venerabiles patres Michaellem Derensem²⁶ Thomam²⁷ Rapotensem et Patricium Tribununtem†²⁸ episcopos Item praefuit ecclesiae Clochoren† Bernardus m^c catmasoit²⁹ archidiaconus eiusdem per provisionem sedis apostolicae seu magistri firron³⁰ archiepiscopi ardmachani hiberniae Primatis tempore provisionis in Romana Curia existentis, qui mortuus fuit in Civitate Clochorensi comuni† pestilencia³¹ qua tota hibernia orbata extiterat et civitas Clochorensis fere depopulato† omnino fuerat. Item successit eidem per electionem concordem capituli Clochorensis magister Matheus m^c catarar³² archidiaconus clochorensis nepos germani primi Mathei m^c catarar³³ qui confirmatus fuit per dominum Milanem†³³ archiepiscopum ardmachanum hiberniae Primatem et consecratus in ecclesia parochiali de druim inarstun³⁴ per dictum Dominum archiepiscopum et Ardachadensem et Dunen† episcopos. Item successit eidem odo ooo nus neit³⁶ qui prius erat cancellarius ardmachanus Item successit eidem ex

19. Ros Airthir, now Rossorry, Co. Fermanagh, the parish in which Lisgoole Abbey is situated.

20. Mucnamh. Muckno Lake, Co. Monaghan.

21. Gilla Isu Ua Banain was confirmed and consecrated by the Archbishop of Armagh in 1316, and died in 1319 (Theiner, p. 223, *Ann. of Ulst.*); thus 'tribus annis' is correct. His predecessor appears to be omitted, for a bishop named Henry is mentioned in 1310 (H. F. Berry, *Irish Statutes*, i, 261).

22. The only other notice of this bishop which I have found is the record of his death 'in the harvest' 1356 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

23. Clones.

24. 24 Feb. 1320.

25. Lisgoole.

26. Elected bishop of Derry in pursuance of a licence issued by the crown 19 August 1319 (Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., i, 26, no. 21).

27. Thomas Ua Domnall, bishop of Raphoe 1319-1337 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

28. This word must represent *Triburnensis*, an adjective formed from Tir Briuin, and commonly used in mediaeval documents for the diocese of Kilmore. I have found no other notice of this bishop, unless he is to be identified with the bishop Ua Cridagain, who died in 1328 (Four Masters).

29. According to the *Ann. of Ulst.*, in which he is called Brian, he succeeded in 1356.

30. By this name is meant Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop 1348-1360.

31. Margin: 'anno 1361.' Ware (*De Praes. Hib.*, p. 48) writes: 'Mortem obiit Clochorae ex peste . . . illa nimirum (ni fallor) quam anno contigisse 1361 nostri docent Annales. Sunt tamen qui tradunt eum mortem obiisse anno 1358.' The *Ann. of Ulst.* record the bishop's death under 1358, and mention the pestilence ('the King's grace') under 1361.

32. I know nothing of this bishop except what is told here.

33. Milo Sweteman, consecrated at Avignon in Nov. 1361, had his temporalities restored in Feb. 1362 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1361, p. 155). The earliest possible date for consecration of Matthew Mac Cathasaigh is therefore 1362. Harris (p. 184) gives 1361.

34. Dromiskin, Co. Louth.

35. This word is crossed out.

36. neit is written above the line. Odo was bishop in 1366, and died 27 July 1370 (Cal. of Sweteman's Register in *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, xxix C, nos. 47, 53; *Ann. of Ulst.*, s.a. 1369, Four Masters).

provisione apostolicae sedis sollertissimus Decretorum doctor ac monachus sistercensis† ordinis nua corceioin³⁷ eius animae propicietur Deus, amen Item successit ex provisione apostolica magister Arturus mac caemaoil³⁸ archidiaconus et Clochorensium ecclesiarum† canonicus qui cum adiuvamine et confortatione tenentium ecclesiae Clochorensis et aliorum Christi fidelium pulchram Capellam erigi fecit in honorem beati Makartini ante cuius consumationem† quod lachrimose ac dolenter referimus, ecclesia Clochorensis et duae Capellae et monasterium beatae Mariae, nec non Curia domini episcopi cum 32^{bns} aliis edificiis, ac omnia episcopi et Capituli et dictae Clochorensis ecclesiae pontificalia aliaque indumenta sacerdotalia ac utensilia et insignia combusta fuerunt.³⁹ Anno Domini 1395 indictione tertia Pontificatus sancti in Christo patris ac domini Bonafacii† divina providentia papae 9 Anno domini.⁴⁰ 6. 28 die mensis Aprilis et consecrationis praefati Domini Arturi anno sexto⁴¹ Item successit eidem Domino Arturo per provisione† sedis Apostolicae Petrus macaoil⁴² archidiaconus Clochorensis per postulacionem capituli Clochorensis. Item successit illi ex provisione Apostolica Dominus Rogerus .i. πορδ⁴³ episcopus Clochorensis filius Thomae iuuenis macaoil⁴⁴ principis de rearmannach Item successit illi Rogero Edmundus curra⁴⁵ frater minor de Momunia δς cριηη cιρρρεαδ⁴⁶ et doctor in theologia. Item successit eidem Patricius oconnoturo⁴⁷ abbas de Cluaineos et eo deueniente ad hiberniam relictis suis literis in banca infra paucos dies communi pestilentia moriebatur Item successit eidem Dominus Eugenius m^c caemaoil⁴⁷ decanus Clochorensis per provisionem sedis apostolicae. Item praefuit ecclesiae Clochoren† Patricius cuillinn⁴⁸ curinn.

37. John Ua Corcraim was provided in succession to Odo after an interregnum of nearly three years on 6 Ap. 1373. He was a Benedictine, not a Cistercian (Theiner, p. 349). The date of his death is not known.

38. Bound himself to pay Papal dues 15 Feb. 1390. Died 10 Aug. 1432 (Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, i², 192; *Ann. of Ulst.*).

39. This fire is mentioned by the Four Masters under 1395.

40. This word should be omitted.

41. If the date of the fire is correct Mac Cathmail must have been consecrated between 28 Ap. 1389 and 28 Ap. 1390. A bishop named Laurence, who was in office and apparently recognized by the Archbishop, in Mar. 1427, is ignored (Swayne's Register, iii. f. 98v). He may be the bishop Ua Martain who died in 1431 (Four Masters).

42. Provided 13 July 1433 (Cal. Pap. Lett. viii. 470).

43. The English scribe wrote πορρ. Under this word is a row of dots, and above it πορδ. Rosa Mac Uidhir succeeded on the resignation of Peter. He was provided 21 July 1447 (Cal. Papal Letters, x. 299), and consecrated at Drogheda by the Archbishop of Armagh about 1 Jan. 1450. He died in 1483 (*Ann. of Ulst.*). Florence Wolley was provided on 20 Nov. 1475, the see being declared vacant by the resignation of Rosa (Eubel, *Hier. Cath.*, ii, 146). Niallan was also provided after Rosa's death; but died before his letters were made out (Costello, *De Annatis Hiberniae*, p. 55).

44. *i.e.* De Courcey. He was the first English bishop of Clogher. He was provided by Sixtus IV, 14 June 1484. Sixtus having died before the letters were made out, the provision was confirmed by Innocent VIII, 12 Sep. 1484 (*Annates Hiberniae*, p. 55; *Ann. of Ulst. s.a.* 1495). He was translated to Ross. He resigned that see 24 March, 1517 (Theiner, *Mon.*, p. 519) and died 10 March, 1518 (*Irish Eccl. Record*, i, 106).

45. *i.e.* 'in the De Courceys' country.'

46. Several provisions are omitted here. James was provided, it would seem on the translation of De Courcey, in 1494; but the translation not having taken effect for some years, the provision was apparently void. Andrew was provided as coadjutor and successor to De Courcey in June or July 1500. Nehemiah (Clonin) was provided 24 Jan. 1502 (*Annates Hiberniae*, p. 55f; Eubel ii, 146). According to Ware (p. 49) he resigned 29 Aug. 1503. Finally Gilla Patraic O Conghalla was provided as successor to Clonin 6 Mar. 1504 (Eubel, iii, 186); but he died, as O'Cassidy and the *Ann. of Ulst.* tell us, in the same year.

47. Provided 4 Ap. 1505 (Eubel, iii, 186). Died 1515 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

48. The word *cuillinn* is crossed out. Patrick O'Cuilleán (who here, as above, p. 233, drops the initial O) was one of the 'authors' of the Register. He was recommended to the Pope by Henry

EXTRACT III.

(Register ff.17v-18r).

Memorandum quod Dominus Matheus⁴⁹ episcopus Clochorensis, iuit ad ecclesiam beati Constantis de Eoynys ad faciendam translationem beati Constantis⁵⁰ praespiteri et etiam beati fergiuminth episcopi de Cutmaine successoris beati Aedhami Diaconi⁵¹ et invento corpore beati Constantis divisit reliquias eius in tres partes et relicta tertia parte in ecclesia de Eoynys duas secum duxit ad ecclesiam Clochorensem quarum vnam concessit ecclesiae beati Vumci de ταιρςνεοη⁵² et fecit illam partem recondi in quodam scriniolo in quo similiter possuit episcopus de reliquiis supradicti fergiuminth episcopi Aliam autem partem de reliquiis

VIII, 27 Sep. 1515 (Theiner, p. 516), and was provided 11 Feb. 1517 (Eubel, iii 186). He died in 1534. After his name L¹ adds, 'qui uixit Ao 1528.' The words are written as part of the text, though they are obviously a gloss of the scribe. They are underlined and crossed out. Cp. p. 229. L¹ also adds a list of the successors of O'Cuillean, viz. 'Hugo o Carphallan claruit 1557, Cornelius McArdghill [undated], Meilerus Magragh translatus in Archiep. Cassel' 1570, Georgius Mt Gomery Scotus ob. Londini 15 Jan. 1620, Jacobus Spottiswood Scotus. This note was probably written during Spottiswood's episcopate (1621-1644).

Here O'Cassidy's list ends with the bishop under whom it was compiled. But in view of another bishop mentioned lower down, it may be well to continue the succession a little further. O'Cuillean was succeeded by HUGH O'CEARBHALLAIN. He was provided 6 Aug. 1535; and a mandate for his consecration was directed to the bishop of Bova, 16 Jan. 1537. He renounced his provision 1 Oct. 1542, and was reappointed by the king on or before 8 Oct. He was deposed by the Pope before 22 Feb. 1557 (Cal. of Letters Henry VIII, xvii, 890, 924; State Papers, Henry VIII, iii, 427). Meanwhile, RAYMOND MAC MATHGAMNA was provided as the successor of O'Cuillean, 27 Aug. 1546. He went to Ireland to claim the see on the deposition of O Cerbhallain, 22 Feb. 1557 (Eubel, iii, 186; Cal. of State Papers, Foreign, Mary, 289). His successor was CORNELIUS MAC ARDGHAIL, for whom see Extract iv.

49. Matthew Mac Cathasaigh I, as the date at the end of the Extract shows. See above, pp. 233, 241f, and below, p. 249ff.

50. Constans, who died in 778, was, according to the *Ann. of Ulst.*, a 'sapiens,' according to Gorman (14 Nov., gloss), a priest and anchorite. Both describe him as of Lough Erne; but Eoinis (now Eanish) is an island in Lough Oughter, on the River Erne, in Co. Cavan. See *Ann. of Loch Cé*, s.a. 1231. It has been suggested that the island of Aughnish in Lough Erne may be intended here (M.); but could Aughnish come from Eoinis? Aughnish=Each-inis, Horse-island: Eó-inis=Salmon-island.

51. Mr. R. I. Best has most kindly called my attention to the entry in the Martyrology of Gorman (Aug. 31), 'Deochain Aed ind ardgeit,' which is glossed 'ó Chuil Maine.' It is obvious that Aedhamus is this Aedh, and that Cutmaine is an error for Culmaine. The following genealogy of Aedh appears in several MSS.: 'Dechoin Aéd mac Maine m. Leogaire m. Cairthind m. Eirc m. Echach m. Collai Uais [focrich, *B. of Lecan*] is: fil i Cúil Maine ["it is he who is in Cúil Maine"],' to which the Book of Lecan adds 'i Lurg.' (See Book of Leinster, p. 347 g; Mac Firbis's Book of Genealogies, R.I.A., p. 339; Leabar Breac, p. 14 d; Book of Lecan, p. 103 d). Colla Uais was the ancestor of the Oirghialla, and of many Fermanagh families, e.g., the Maguires. Hence it may be suggested that Culmaine is the present Magheraculmonee in the barony of Lurg, Co. Fermanagh. For identifications which seem less probable see Stokes, *Gorman*, p. 306; and for other references to Aedh the passages cited in Hogan, s.v. Cúil Maine. and Rawlinson B. 502 (facs.) p. 141^b 21. Of Fergiuminth I know nothing.

52. *Vumci* is a corruption of Vincentii, as appears from the gloss in Oengus on St. Vincentius, deacon of Saragossa (21 Aug.): 'i.e. a bishop (*sic*), i.e. Unnic Tuignech in Hui Dortain, i.e. a bishop; or *Vincenti* (is the right reading), so that he may be Unnic in Tugniath, or Uncan Tuigneath.' On the same day Gorman has Uncan. Stokes (*Mart. of Oengus*, p. 397) suggests that Tugniath is Tynan (Tugnedá, gen. Tuidnidha); but that seems inconsistent with the position of Hui Dortain (see above, p. 241, note 12). It is obviously identical with our Tuisgneth. Can this be a corruption of Saragossa? In any case the veneration of Constans among the Hui Dortain helps to explain the incident recorded in the text: for Matthew Mac Cathasaigh belonged to that sept. See above p. 241.

Constantis fecit recondi in scrinio magno beati Makartini⁵³ in quadam cista parua siue pixide lignea Item reliquias beati fergumint† possuit in quodam linteo et fecit eas recondi in eodem scrinio Item beatus Constans secum duxit de Britannea† tres viros praelatae fidei ad serviendum sibi et deo in monasterio suo de Eoynys quorum corpora sepulta sunt in inferiori parte Cymiterii de Eoynys et episcopus fecit vnum de ipsis transferri cuius reliquias possuit episcopus in quodam scrinio, quod dicitur Membra a Membrana dictum quae ibidem continebatur quia cum beatus Tigernacus hospitaretur apud lysdoniam⁵⁴ vbi tunc conventus monialium fuerat sanctarum qui conventus vnam habens ovem cuius lana induebantur moniales fecit interfici illam ovem beato Tygernaco pro carnibus et hoc ignorante sancto Tygernaco : vnde beatus Tigernacus rogavit Dominum suum Jesum Christum vt pellis illa afferet lanam ad vsum monialium sicut antea dabat, quando fuit in corpore ovis, Et sic conventus habebat lanam de pelle per plures annos sicut viuentem oue ad supplicationem beati Tygernaci. Postea vero cum pellis illa ad solem fuisset posita causa eam siccandi coruus quidam pellem in rostro recipiens eam secum per aera reduxit vsque ad sanctum Biedanum†⁵⁵ et dimissit pellem ad pedes eius. qui sanctus Biedanus† cognoscens† pellem esse de qua fecit sanctus Tygernacus miracula remissit eandem pellem ad ecclesiam Clochorensis Cui tunc praefuit beatus Tygernacus episcopus et sic scrinium illud factum est ad opus illius pellis in quo pellis illa recondita fuit. vel alio modo dicitur Membra id est memoriale scrineo respectu maioris scrinei, quod dicitur Domnach Airgid.⁵⁶ in quo scrineo memoriali reliquiae sanctorum fuerunt reconditae vnde illud magnum scrineum ad ardua negotia mittebatur. Hoc autem ad minora negotia. Translacio quidem supradicta facta† fuit apud Eoynys octavo Idus septembris⁵⁷ Anno Domini 1308 quam diem praecipit episcopus obseruari pro facto†⁵⁸ translacionis plurimorum confessorum.

EXTRACT IV.

(Register ff.21v, 22r).

Memorandum ad aeternam rei memoriam qualiter beatus Patricius eiecit demone, qui prestigialia dabat responsa de lapide aureo illo existente in Ciuitate Clochorensi a quo ipsa Civitas denominat⁵⁹ ipsum† sancto Makartino et quam pluribus aliis commitante ad partes de locheene†⁶⁰ ad seminandum verbum dei, gressum

53. Apparently the Domnach Airgid : see below, note 56.

54. Lisdonny, par. of Muckno, Co. Monaghan.

55. l. *Brendanum* ?

56. A *cumdach* now in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, in which was preserved the manuscript known as St. Patrick's Gospels. On it and the manuscript see papers by Dr. Petrie (*Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, xviii, Antiquities, p. 14) and Dr. Bernard (*ib.*, xxx, 303). This passage confirms the conclusion arrived at in the latter paper, that the shrine was not made for the manuscript, inasmuch as it describes the Domnach as a reliquary, and gives no hint that it contained a book. See also below, p. 256, note 82. It is clear that it was called 'great,' not on account of its size, but on account of the reverence in which it was held ; for the shrine called *Membra* held, *inter alia*, a sheep-skin. See further a paper by E. C. R. Armstrong and H. J. Lawlor in *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy* xxxiv.C, p. 96. In the next line the word which I read vnde (vñ) is followed by an erased letter.

57. 6 September.

58. l. *festu*.

59. Perhaps *denominatur*. Cp. the gloss in the Martyrology of Oengus (15 Aug.): 'Clochar, i.e. cloch óir, i.e. a stone round which was gold, which the heathen had and worshipped. And out of it a devil used to speak : Cermand Cestach was his name, and it was the chief idol of the north. That is the short stone on the right hand as thou enterest the temple of Clochar ; and the places of the joints of gold and silver still remain in it, ut uidimus ipsi.'

60. l. *locherne*.

dixerat†⁶¹ triumphalem qui veniens ad vallem iuxta enpcha (?).⁶² vidensque ibi pulchram terrae planiciem inter riuulos aquarum limpidissimos suis praecepit discipulis suum tentorium extendi, ibique decernens pernoctare, et prout moris ipsius erat faciens⁶³ super nudum lapidem. aliumque lapidem capiti subponens ibidem illa nocte pausavit a quo siquidem tentorio ecclesia illa vsque in hodiernum diem hibernico idiomate *Ḑobut Ḑacḑaic*⁶⁴ non immerito vocitatur Lapidem quidem supradicti tactu ipsius sanctissimi consecrati, quam plurimis sanitatem corporis extra frontem ecclesiae nunc positi Contulerunt prout et nunc conferant miraculose Mane vero facto *ḑeḑsur .i. ceannḑada*.⁶⁵ rex Ergallicae† a quo *ḑir ceannḑada*⁶⁶ nuncupatur ad expugnandum fidei sacramentum et ad bellandum contra Patricium sanctum, et suos clericos per ydolatriam† suam pervenit. Inprimis totam terram per magicam artem maris invnditione apparentur† replendo qui cum non posset illud apparens mare vsque ad aliud mane destruere beatus Patricius eleuata sua manu signoque crucis imposito illud fictuum† mare statim evanait†. Cumque praedictus infaelix per praedicationem sancti Patricii ad fidem Christi aliquo modo converti nequiuisset, terra apperuit⁶⁷ os suum et ipsum coram cunctis qui tunc adierant deglatiuit†. Quo viso miraculo Regina ipsius partum habens in vtero ad pedes beati Patricii provoluta ad fidem Christi conversa baptissata est, quem partum beatus Patricius masculum eum pronuncians benedixit nomen sibi imponendo *manaḑan*⁶⁸ a matre fidei,⁶⁹ quam erat accepturus sic vocitatus, quo nato et baptissato cum ad aetatem⁷⁰ pervenisset legitimam patri suo successit in regno et totam illam vallem deo et beato Patricio in puram atque perpetuam elimosinam concessit atque donavit, cuius quidam⁷¹ vallis possessionem per impotentiam clericorum et insolentiam laycorum per quandam speciem alluionis ecclesia partem modicam amissit quam etiam modicam partem tempore domini Mathei⁷² dei gratia quondam episcopi Clochorensis *am ḑadamin*⁷³ dux de *ḑir ceannḑada* caepit auferre Domino, et ecclesiae ac beato Patricio donec per ipsum episcopum execratus et interdictus dimisit terras ecclesiae in pace Qui quidem Dominus Matheus pro tunc episcopus Clochorensis concessit easdem terras magistro Philipo *o neozain* pro duobus solidis singulis annis sibi et suis successoribus et ecclesiae Clochorensi soluendis nomine tributi⁷⁴ Sed tempore Domini Eugenii episcopi Clochorensis⁷⁵

61. Corrected from *dixerunt*. l. *duxerat*.

62. Apparently an attempt of the English scribe to copy a word in Irish characters.

63. Some such word as *lectum* is omitted.

64. In an inquisition taken at Enniskillen 18 Sep. 7 James I it was found that in the 'parish of Enniskine is a chapple of ease called Pubble, with half a quarter of herenagh land called Pubble-Patrick and Drumkenada [Drumkeenragh] thereunto adjoining.' The ruins of the chapel remain in the townland of Pubble, parish of Enniskillen, about two miles from Tempo, on the road from that place to Enniskillen.

65. Fergus Long-head, or Duach, son of Conall Gulban, who was slain in 464, and was therefore a contemporary of St. Patrick. See Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 251.

66. Barony of Tirkennedy, Co. Fermanagh.

67. Corrected from *apparuit*.

68. *manaḑan* = 'little monk'?

69. l. *a matris fide*?

70. Corrected from *estatem*.

71. l. *quidem*.

72. It is not clear which of the two bishops of the name is intended. But see above, p. 232.

73. The Ui Daimin were chiefs of Tirkennedy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See *Ann. of Ulst.*, index.

74. This sentence and part of the next, together with two lines a little further on, are marked as if for quotation. The first two passages are quoted by Ussher in his *Original of Corbes* (Works, vol. xi, p. 423).

75. 1508-1515.

ipsa ecclesia ex donatione Cormaci ní óamín natiui, ac reguli de τῆρ cenḗραα et Cornelii μέζυιθειρ⁷⁶ principis de ῥεαῤαμαναχ adquisiuit terras quae vulgariter nuncupantur ῥουιμκαεῤηεχ⁷⁷ cum suis finibus quam terrae peciam† fecit Patricius fuscus ó héοζαῖη herenacus dictae ecclesiae nobis et ecclesiae Clochorensi tributariam reddendo inde nobis et successoribus nostris ex ea singulis annis vnum solidum vsualis monetae.⁷⁸ Memorandum est insuper quod orta controversia inter Catholicum μαζυιθειρ abbatem de λιόρζαβαι⁷⁹ et Fergusium ó héοζαῖη⁸⁰ superdictis terris coram Domino episcopo et suo capitulo ipse Cornelius episcopus⁸¹ causam archidiacono et officiali Clochorensi ac officiali de τοχ ηρῖηηε commissit, qui cunctis deligenter† discussis caeterisque causam concernentibus limatis (?) nomine Domini invocato illas terras liberas et immunes ab omni servitute laycali esse sententialiter decreverunt. tam in bonagio, quam in caeteris aliis oneribus occurrentibus. Haec sententia lata est in villa ῥύη μέζυιθειρ—10 Augusti 1575.

EXTRACT V.

(Register, f. 26v).

Veniens Sanctus Patricius in fines Mughorum⁸² . . . Haec ex legenda sancti Patricii scripsi⁸³ etc.

EXTRACT VI.

(Register f. 27r, 27v).

Decanatus de Cluayneoys⁸⁴ nuncupatur ab ecclesia sanctae καερε⁸⁵ de Ῥομναχ μαζυῖη⁸⁶ sorore spirituali beatorum Markatini†⁸⁷ atque Tygernacii episcoporum Ergalliae, nam beatus Tigernacus consecrauit praedictae virgini eandem ecclesiam, ac in honore ipsius episcopi Crux lapidea Collocata est ibidem vt patet intuentibus ecclesiae† vsque introitum anglicorum† ad hiberniam, ex quibus terris consuauerunt sibi responde[re] tenentes et natiui sui videlicet óουβεαῤεῖχ η μααῤη⁸⁸ Post autem introitum anglicorum† Ricardus Pipard⁸⁹

76. Conchobhar Mac Uidhir; died 1527 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

77. Drumkeenragh, parish of Enniskillen, barony of Tirkennedy.

78. Margin (in Ussher's hand): 'Sequentia usque ad finem paginae manu recentiore sunt adscripta.'

79. Lisgoole.

80. The word *de* is omitted.

81. Cornelius Mac Ardghail was provided to the see of Clogher 29 May 1560 (Eubel, iii, 186). This passage proves that he got possession, and retained the see till at least 1575. Ware (*De Praes. Hib.*, p. 50) states that Miler Magrath was given the see on 18 Sep. 1570, and was translated to Cashel 3 Feb. 1571. It is plain that he did not get undisturbed possession. Mac Ardghail may have been the bishop of Clogher who attended the Parliament of 1569 (C. L. Falkiner, *Essays relating to Ireland*, p. 234), and the bishop mentioned in Loftus' *Annals* under the year 1585. He was still bishop in 1592 (*Journal Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, N.S. i (1856-7), 81). Ware does not mention him in his *De Praesulibus*, though in a note in L¹ he counts him as the successor of Hugh O Cerballain. See p. 244, note 48.

82. Mughdornai, the district comprising the baronies of Cremorne and Farney, Co. Monaghan.

83. From Jocelin's *Vita s. Patricii*, cap. 139. It is unnecessary to print the passage.

84. Clones.

85. This is undoubtedly the St. Cera commemorated on 9 Sept., though the Martyrologies (Tallaght, Go man) mention her without note of place. Her name is preserved in the ancient church and burial ground of Kilhear, in the townland of Corlat, now reckoned as in the par. of Aghnamullen. An account of St. Cera, drawn from local tradition, by Dean O'Connor of Carrickmacross, is the basis of the article on her in O'Hanlon's *Irish Saints*, vol. ix, p. 243. M.

86. Donaghmoynne, Co. Monaghan.

87. *r* is written above the second *a*.

88. Mughdornai?

89. For this incident see also above, Extract ii, p. 240.

incaepit violenter edificare et construere castrum in terris episcopi iuxta *Domna máḡinn*. hoc audiens episcopus videlicet Tygernacus m^o *ḡiolla rónain* venit ad impediendum edificationem in terris suis contra predictum Ricardum Baronem de atrio Dei et cum episcopus non potuit impedire praedictum Baronem per arma, induit se pontificabilibus† et intrauit fossam quae tunc ibi fiebant, nunciando sibi nouum opus proiectam† corporis† proprii† loco lapidis et monendo ipsum tanquam filium suum ne edificaret in terris ecclesiae et cum per hoc baro non cessauit ab opere incepto tunc episcopus prostrauit se [in] fundum fossae et tunc baro suscepta ligone ligonizauit terram super ipsum episcopum et incepit viuum sepelire. Milites autem ipsius baronis hoc videntes violenter extraxerunt episcopum de fossa ne deterius id est mors ipsius inde contingeret. Sed nemini venit in dubium quod ille baro, et sui complices fuerunt ipso facto excommunicati et ipse baro morbo leprae contagioso mortuus est et sui posteri eadem contagione sunt infecti, nemine ex parte masculini generis nunc viuento sibi succedendo.

EXTRACT VII.

(Register f. 28r, 28v).

Sanctus vltanus episcopus patronus ecclesiae de *ceatlannuḡ*⁹⁰ fuit de speciali familia beati Macartini. Nam sibi capella de *ḡruimnubecain*⁹¹ apud *maḡteanna*⁹² fuit consecrata et pro tempore fuerat episcopus Ergalliae, qui etiam maledixit illos de *munterlann*⁹³ qui boues ipsius episcopi subriperunt, et etiam ad suam insulam furtim duxerunt quod cum episcopus in pontu introitum petiisset boues prosequendo et non fuisset admissus in insulam maledixit, leuata manu, et aqua penitus effluxit locum illum relinquendo, et tunc episcopus sicco pede cum suis insulam intrauit, vbi latrones fuerunt cumque fures inficiarentur† boues, capud vinius†⁹⁴ bouis a corpore abscisum mugitum fecit. Ita quod furtum amplius celari non potuit et locus ille vsque in hodiernum diem siccus apparet, sine stagno, qui dicitur *ḡscóm outain*⁹⁵ laudetur deus, qui in sanctis suis est mirabilis et in titulum istius miraculi acceruus lapideus factus est in via publica iuxta locum illum qui acceruus dicitur *ḡḡraḡ uelcain*⁹⁶ ḡ *tearḡoib̄ teḡrēnn* et vt dicitur praedictus episcopus vltanus sepultus est apud Clochor in paruo Cemiterio beati Makartini in tumba fusus†⁹⁷ austrum iuxta beati Makartini sepulchrum in qua tumba alii sex episcopi sunt humati vt asseritur.

EXTRACT VIII.

(Register ff. 31v-34v).

Sequitur constitutio Bonifacii papae.

[Here follows the text of the Bull of Pope Boniface VIII, *Clericis laicos*, dated "vi^o Kalendas Marcii Pontificatus nostri anno ii^o," i.e. 25 February 1296. It may be read in Rymer's *Foedera* (1816-1869), vol. i, p. 836 and elsewhere. After it comes the following account of the reception of the Bull:]

90. Killanny, Cos. Monaghan and Louth. s.

91. Called *Druim nubhann* in Extract ii, p. 235.

92. The district round Clogher: 'the plain of the Laune,' the river on which the town is situated.

93. Arda. See above p. 235, note 31. For the story see also that place.

94. l. *unius*.

95. In Extract ii Dunluan.

96. 'The worship of Ultan.'

97. l. *versus*.

Recepto igitur hoc statuto per Dominum Nicholaum⁹⁸ Dei gratia archiepiscopum Armachanum Hiberniae Primatem, vocatisque Domino Dominaldo† filio Bernardi⁹⁹ ineill¹ et aliis magnatibus de τῆρ εὐζαῖν, praedictus dominus armachanus exposuit illud statutum, addendo quasdam alias constitutiones quae ad libertatem ecclesiae et salutem animarum pertinebant eradicando et detestando prauas consuetudines et onera iniuriosa, quas et quae huc vsque imponeban[t] ecclesiis contra salutem animarum suorum† et in praeiudicium ecclesiasticae libertatis non modicum; quibus omnibus statutis praedictus dominus Domnaldus et sui magnates consensum adhibuerunt sigilla suae† apponentes. Quibus peractis praedictus dominus armachanus, cum reliquis† sanctorum, committante Domino Matheo episcopo Clochorensi² et multis aliis clericis, venit ad castrum Bernardi μεγματξαμνα³ regis Ergalliae, et easdem constitutiones coram praedicto rege et suis magnatibus fecit exponi. Quibus sic expositis praedictus rex cum suis magnatibus consensum adhibuit, ac se et suas† praedictis Domino Nicholauo Primati ac Domino Matheo episcopo suo proprio et eorum ecclesia† obligauit in haec verba.

⁴Vniuersis Christi fidelibus has literas visuris vel auditaris†, Bernardus μαγματξαμνα Rex Ergalliae, Radulphus frater eius⁵ dominus de ραρτραοιζε,⁶ Patricius ρουβηταξι⁷ dux de τεατταχ ηγεαλαξαν,⁸ ματξαμνα m^c ματξαμνα dux de μοιφινη,⁹ οσα m^c εματνα dux de τριεαεου,¹⁰ Echaro m^c Domnail dux de cloinn ceall¹¹, m^c μαοιρμυαν dux pro parte sua de clann ceall, ματξαμνα filius ξιοτταεα¹² dominus de τριεμουξαρνη†,¹³ Patricius μαγματξαμνα regulus de fern muize,¹⁴ valterus οεαρθοιτ dominus de clann ceαρθοιτ,¹⁵ wlliamus† μαγμαααζαῖν dux de clann ροεραχ,¹⁶ caeterique alii nobiles Ergalliae, salutem in

98. Nicholas Mac Mael Isa, Archbishop 1272-1303.

99. At this point D omits nearly a leaf of the exemplar. The scribe, when he discovered his error, copied the omitted portion on the next leaf of D (f. 8), which it exactly fills. He has written notes in English in the margin here (D, f. 7) and on D, f. 9, indicating the order in which the text is to be read. In Ussher's hand there is a note to the same effect on f. 8. I have printed the text in its original sequence.

1. Domnall son of Brian (here called Bernard) O'Neill became king of Tir Eoghain (Cos. of Derry and Tyrone) for the second time in 1295 and died in 1325 (*Ann. of Ulst., s.aa.* 1291, 1322).

2. Matthew Mac Cathasaigh I: see above p. 241.

3. Brian Mac Mathghamna (MacMahon) was king of Oirghialla in 1283, and died in 1311 (*Ann. of Loch Cé*).

4. In this document I have not followed the MS. closely in punctuation and the use of capital letters.

5. Perhaps the Ralph Mac Mathghamna who was slain in 1314 (*Ann. of Ulst., s.a.* 1311).

6. Barony of Dartree, Co. Monaghan.

7. *Anglice* O'Duffy.

8. Tullygillen, par. of Kilmore, bar. of Monaghan. M.

9. Mullan, par. of Tullycorbet, bar. of Monaghan? M.

10. Τριεαεου, equivalent to Cantred, denotes here the barony of Trough, Co. Monaghan, of which the MacKennas (Mac Cinaetha) were chieftains. See *Ann. of Ulst., s.a.* 1261.

11. Barony of Clankelly (Clann Cellairξ), Co. Fermanagh, the chieftains of which in the latter part of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth were of the family of MacDomnhaill. The text seems to prove that in 1297 there were rival claimants.

12. A person called Gilla Dubh son of Gilla Cua died in 1347 (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

13. l. Τριε μουξορνα, barony of Cremorne, Co. Monaghan.

14. ρερημαξ, barony of Farney, Co. Monaghan.

15. Marked on the plot of the Co. Monaghan in 1591 (reproduced in Shirley's *Monaghan*) as Clancarol. It included the parish of Inishkeen, and part of the parish of Donaghmoynne, barony of Farney, Co. Monaghan (Shirley, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 519 ff.).

16. The Clann Ruadrach is mentioned in a charter of c. 1100, which seems to imply that its territory was then in the territory of Moygoish, Co. Westmeath, on the border of Co. Longford (*Miscellany of Irish Archaeological Society*, i, p. 134, with note f.). A chief of the clan,

Domino. Licet nos, contra iura ac antiquas consuetudines approbatas omnium regionum in quibus fides christianitatis colitur et gubernatur, ac etiam contra deum et sanctos nec non et sanctae matris nostrae ecclesiae libertatem, nonnulla furta et rapinas aliasque varias et diuersas iniurias et offensas, atque quam plurima alia grauamina, ecclesiis terrarum nostrarum et clericis ac tenentibus earundem, per nos et nostros homines, temporibus comissimus et intulimus retroactis: Lecto tamen et exposito nobis, per venerabilem patrem Dominum Nicholaum dei gratia Archiepiscopum Ardmathanum hiberniae primatem nec non et [Dominum] Matheum eadem gratia Clochoren† episcopum, statuto Domini Bonifacii sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae summi pontificis, inter alia continentem quod non¹⁷ reges et duces seu quicumque eorum officiales, qui collectas contributiones et exactiones, aut seruitutes quascumque ab ecclesiis aut earum tenentibus seu quibuscumque personis ecclesiasticis regularibus aut secularibus cuiuscumque sunt status vel conditionis exegerint vel receperint quomodo, verum etiam praelati ecclesiasticaeque personae et quicumque ecclesiarum tenentes, qui predictas collectas contributiones exactiones aut seruitutes quascumque soluerint, promisserint aut eisdem quouis colore paruerint, excommunicationis sententiam incurrant ipso facto, a qua sententia non nisi per summum Pontificem possint absolui. In quo etiam statuto similiter continetur quod quicumque deposita apud sacras edes quarumcumque personarum vbilibet arrestauerint¹⁸ seu occupare praesumpserint, vel arrestare aut occupare mandauerint seu occupata aut arestata receperint, necnon omnes qui scienter in praedictis vel alicui praedictorum dederint consilii auxilium vel fauorem publice vel occulte, eandem excommunicationis sententiam incurrant eo ipso. Nos supradicti Domini atque magnates, praedictas transgressiones et grauamina reuocare et sententiam excommunicationis supradictam euitare volentes, in honore Domini Omnipotentis et beatae Mariae virginis matris eius, ac beatorum Patricii, Mackartini, Tygernaci atque Lasciani patronorum nostrorum, omniumque sanctorum, nec non et ob reuerentiam Dominorum Archiepiscopi et episcopi supradictorum et ob salutem animarum nostrarum, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliiis, firmiter promittimus et pro nobis et successoribus nostris tenore praesentium fideliter manucapimus, et quilibet nostrum promittet¹⁹ manucapit, quod nos et quilibet nostrum et successores nostri quicumque et singuli eorundem, omnes et singulas ecclesias in terris nostris existentes earumque clericos et tenentes ab omnibus vexationibus, videlicet furtis rapinis incendiis et quibuscumque violenciis ac iniuriis, nec non ab omnibus turbarum satellitum, canum et equorum, custodum quorumcumque ministerialium nostrorum exactionibus, in pecunia, cibariis aut alio quolibet nomine vel modo, ex nunc indemnes servabimus et immunes; concedentes, et tenore praesentium nos obligantes, quod si alicui ecclesiae vel ecclesiasticae personae in terra alicuius nostrum existenti per quoscumque homines nostros factum fiat aut rapina aut aliquod genus exactionum praedictarum per nos vel nostros, eisdem vel alicui earundem imponatur,

named Imhar Mag Mhadaghain died in 1251 (*Ann. of Ulst.*). The present passage seems to show that then, or shortly afterwards, it was established in Monaghan or East Fermanagh. Now from an Inquisition into Church lands in Fermanagh, taken at Enniskillen 18 Sep. 7 James I, we learn that Clan McRowrie was herenagh of Farrenarioght, and that Farrenarioght was in Magheracross. Further, the *Ann. of Ulster* (s.a. 1509) state that Donnchadh mac Ruaidhri was herenagh of Magheracross. Farrenarioght is probably represented by the townland of Ferney about three-quarters of a mile south of Ballinamallard, and Magheracross is a townland (containing an ancient graveyard and ruins of a church) a mile east of Ballinamallard; both in the par. of Magheracross, bar. of Tirkennedy. Hence it is clear that the district of Clann Ruaidhri lay round Ballinamallard, and roughly coincided with the par. of Magheracross.

17. Insert *solum*.

18. l. *arrestare*.

19. Insert *et*.

nos pro quolibet furto aut rapina vel incendio, dummodo sex vacarum numerum vel earum estimationem non excedat, et etiam pro qualibet exactione supradicta, quoties furtum Rapina incendium vel exactio fiat qualiscumque, viginti quatuor vacas a delinquente seu delinquentibus, cum rei persecutione,²⁰ leuabimus nomine penae; de quibus duodecem vacas praedicto Domino Matheo nostro episcopo liberauimus,²¹ aliis duodecem vacis reservatis illi nostrum qui pro furto, rapina, aut pro qualibet alia consimili transgressione, temporibus retroachis† emendam recipere consuevit, nisi ipse in exigendo illam paenam negligans† fuerit vel remissus, quo casu paena ipsa inter Regem et Dominum episcopum supradictum equaliter dividebatur²²; sed si furtum rapina incendium vel preda numerum sex vacarum vel earum estimationem excedat, tunc quadraginta vacas a delinquente siue delinquentibus, cum rei persecutione,²³ similiter levabimus nomine penae, et earum dimedietatem eidem Domino episcopo davimus,†²⁴ salua tumelialia† medietate illi nostrum qui hactenus emendam habere consuevit, vt superius est expressum. Insuper si huiusmodi furtum vel rapinam facientes, aut alius† aliquo genere praedicturam†, exactionam† delinquentes non fuerit soluendo,²⁵ promittimus et firmiter manucapimus quod ipsas personas delinquentes, aut magistrōs turbarum si meruerint, capiemus, et carceri Domini episcopi liberamimu[s]†,²⁶ ibidem puniendos prout eidem Domino episcopo, iuxta quantitatem delicti, videbitur expedire, si nos ipsi pro eorum excessibus eidem domin[o] episcopo non satisfecerimus competenter.²⁷ Item concedimus et manucapimu[s] quod turbarum praepositi vel quibus alii, a sutoribus, fabris, textorib[us] seu quibuscunque aliis personis actis†²⁸ mecanicae† in territorio ecclesias[tico] comoraroribus†,²⁹ praetextu alicuius consuetudinis, imo potius corruptelae hactenus habitae, de cetero nihil exigant vel aliquatenus extorquebunt. Insuperque omnes imponentes servitutes terras arand[i], blada mettendi vel cariendi, domos tegendi aut valleandi, ecclesiis seu ecclesiarum tenentibus, prout prae† supradictam statutam est express[um], eo ipso sunt excommunicati. Nos tenore praesentium, pro nobis et success[o]ribus nostris, bona fide promittimus sicut prius quod ab huiusmodi seruitutibus in perpetuum desistemus, et quoscunque alios sub potesta[te] nostra vel dominio existentes penitus desistere faciemus ab eisdem. Porro si contingat aliquem furem vel latronem vel quemcunque ecclesiasticorum bonorum invasorem, per aliquem clericum aut ecclesiae tenentem se vel bona sua defendentem vel per quemcunque alium laic[u]m ecclesiae bona similiter protegentem, casu interfici, volumus et manucapimus quod hoc interfectori vel interfecto[r]ibus ab aliquo rege vel filio regis Domino aut consanguineo, seu etiam amico quocunque, interfici minime imputatur, nec ex inde satisfactio aliqua petatur aut exigatur. Sane si bona alicuius clerici seu ecclesiasticae personae per furtum aut rapinam auferri contingat, quoque³⁰ clerici seu tenentes ecclesiarum ad terras cuiuscunque laici vestigia sic oblaturum†³¹ fuerint prosecuti, concedimus et fide media† promittimus quod Dominus illarum,³² in quibus vestigia ipsa fuerint inventa, de rebus sic oblati†³³ totaliter teneatur, nisi vestigia eadem de terris suis ad terras vicinas prosequatur,

20. l. *prosecutione.*21. l. *liberabimus.*22. l. *dividebitur.*23. l. *prosecutione.*24. l. *dabimus.*25. l. *fuerint soluendo.* The Rev. T. Gogarty suggests the rendering, 'if they are not for paying. i.e., if they are not willing to pay; which is probably correct.26. l. *liberabimus.*

27. Something seems to be omitted here.

28. l. *artis.*29. l. *commorantibus.*30. l. *sique?*31. l. *ablaturum.*32. The word *terrarum* is omitted.33. l. *ablatis.*

et quod tunc laicus investigans illarum vicinarum terrarum Domino†³⁴ vestigia oblato³⁵ sic inventa coram testibus denunciaret absque dolo, et simili modo secundus et tercius ad quorum terras vestigia ipsa deuenirent† facere teneantur, et sic deinceps quoadvsque ad auctorem furti vel rapinae finaliter deueniatur. Rursus, quod Clerici et ecclesiarum tenentes, non solum per Campos et nemora sed et per vias et stratas publicas pro negotiis suis transeuntes, per satellites et scoticos nostros plerumque impediri et pannis suis ac rebus aliis hactenus spoliari consueuerint†,³⁶ nos promittimus et tenore praesentium manucapimus quod patellites† vel quiuus alii nobis subiecti talia de caetero minime faciant, nec hac occasione aliquid exigent vel recipient ab eisdem; quod si secus fecerint, nos contra facientes a Domino†³⁷ nostro abiiciemus, quousque oblata†³⁸ ipsa spoliatis plenarie restituant, et quadruplum nomine paenae nobis persolvant. Et si contingat aliquas personas ecclesiasticas vel tenentes ecclesiarum in viis praedictis per eosdem satellites aut scoticos male tractari siue offendi, promittimus quod personas sic delinquentes praedicto Domino Matheo episcopo nostro liberanimus†³⁹ puniendas† prout sibi videbitur expedire. Et hoc idem circa clericos et ecclesiarum tenentes, res suas vi vel furtim eis ablatas investigantes non solum in viis sed etiam vbicumque extra vias, volumus similiter obseruari. Insuper volumus et concedimus quod nullus laicus sub potestate nostra vel dominio nostro vel alicuius nostrum existentes†⁴⁰, ratione alicuius delicti, debiti, aut contractus, ab aliqua ecclesiastica persona seu tenente ecclesiae clam vel palam vadium vel pignus, per se vel per alium, de caetero capere praesumat, puius† coram ordinario loci in capitulo iusticia non petita. Si quis vero contra fecerit si fuerit⁴¹ soluando† duplum vadii recepti; si vero soluendo non fuerit personam suam ordinario loci liberauimus†⁴² infra quindecim dies a tempore quo per ecclesiam super hoc fuerimus requisiti. Praeterea† promittimus et concedimus quod defensio et tuitio clericorum, romipedarum, monialium, viduarum, aliarumque miserabilium personarum in terris nostris inter laycos commorantium† spectat ad ecclesiam et locorum ordinarios; ita quod non liceat nobis aut alicui nostrum, vel alii cuiquam sub Dominio nostro existenti, huiusmodi personas spoliare vel offendere quo modo: nisi†⁴³ furtum aut rapinam in terris alicuius nostrum fecerint vel alias deliquerint, et de his fuerint conuicti vel confessi; cuius furti, rapinae vel delicti correctio vel emenda ad Dominum laycum debebat pertinere; quo casu dominus ille laycos modum non excedat, sed⁴⁴ facultates delinquentium et qualitate[s] delictorum emendam prout iustum fuerit recipiat ab eisdem: vel nisi†⁴⁵ tempore guerrae mota inter duo regna res talium personarum, in terris laycorum vt praemittitur commorantium, mixtim cum rebus ipsorum laycorum, per praedam aut rapinam, et non ex proposito seu fraudulenter, de vno regno ad aliud regnum eisdem contigerit auferri; quo casu, iuxta quandam ordinationem a praedictis Dominis Archiepiscopo et episcopo super hoc alias factam, ordinarii locorum de his la† minime intromittant. Praeterea, si res rectorum, vicariorum aut capellanorum ecclesiarum parochialium aut procuratorum earundem cum rebus laycorum vt praemissum est, capientur; enim† liceat iudici ecclesiastico circa huiusmodi rerum iurisdictionem suam prout sibi visum fuerit exercere. Iudex etiam ecclesiasticus, si clericos, aliasque miserabiles personas supradictas, per quoscumque de regno illo in quo eedem personae inter laycos moram faciunt, rebus suis acciderit spoliari, iurisdictionem suam libere exerceat circa recuperationem bonorum eisdem taliter ablatorum. Item promittimus et manucapimus quod laycos a pueritia in territorio ecclesiastico mtritos†, siue ex

34. l. dominus. 35. l. ablatorum. 36. l. consueuerunt. 37. l. dominio.
 38. l. ablata. 39. l. liberabimus. 40. l. existens.
 41. See above, p. 251, note 25. 42. l. liberabimus.
 43. l. nisi. 44. The word *secundum* seems to be omitted. 45. l. nisi.

devocione aut valetudine, se causa commorandi ad territorium ecclesiasticum transferentes, in nullo molestabimus, aut ab aliis molestari permittemus, nisi causa fugiendi cum aliqua contributione per consanguineos vel cognatos suos antea eis imposita et dimissa, vel cum alio quo debito nostro aut nostrorum, vel cum proprio Delicto, illuc veniant fraudulenter, quo etiam casu nullam praedam aut aliam vindictam ab eisdem capiemus vel aliis capi permittemus, quamdiu ecclesia de ipsis super his iustitiae fecerint complementum. Ad haec, si aliquis sub dominio alicuius nostrum existens in aliquem clericum sanctimoniam aut conversum manus iniecerit tenere†⁴⁶ violentas, aut contra voluntates eorum ipsos detinuerit in custodia publica vel privata, seu per ordinarios locorum pro aliqua transgressionem vel delicto excommunicationis sententia fuerit innodatus, nos ipsum, per distractionem bonorum vel corporis, si necesse fuerit, captionem, ad†⁴⁷ sub eundem iudicium sen ordinationem Dominorum Archiepiscopi et episcopi nostri infra mensem a tempore[?] comissi delicti, omni dilatione cessante, compellimus. Insuper quia ecclesia† in aliis regionibus, non solum de iure verum etiam de consuetudine, de bonis ab intestato decedentium libere ordinat et disponit, nos volumus et concedimus quod ecclesiarum praelati de bonis omnium in partibus nostris ab intestato decedentium similiter ordinent et disponant. Item quia iure cavetur quod episcopi vel eorum officiales disponant de bonis decedentium ab intestato vel non iure testantium, ideo nos promittimus, imo promissum a iure reclamamus, licere Domino Matheo episcopo nostro vel eius officialibus ordinare et disponere de bonis talium taliter decedentium, promittentes bona fide rectoribus et vicariis quod liceat eis procuratores suos facere in parrochiis suis ad colligendum decimas maiores et minutas et omnia alia iura spiritualia. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium nos sigilla nostra his literis apponi fecimus. Datum apud Castrum nostrum de Lochntach,⁴⁸ die Mercurii proxima post festum beatae Katrinae virginis.⁴⁹ Anno Domini 1297. Et eandem formam concessit et servare iuravit, et manucepit ʁoʁo mʁʁuʁeʁi Rex de Locherhonne⁵⁰ cum suis magnatibus et ducibus pro se et suis successoribus perpetuo fideliter prout in ultimo folio antiqui registri plenius deest.⁵¹

EXTRACT IX.

⁵²Tempore Davidis o Bragan⁵³ per potentiam quidem Germani o Chearbalan⁵⁴

46. l. *temere*. 47. l. *adire* ?

48. This word, though in Irish characters, seems to be in the hand of the English scribe. It is probably an error for Mullagh Leaght, a hill three miles south-west of Monaghan, in the townland of Leck, on which the MacMahon was inaugurated (Shirley, *Monaghan*, p. 71). The letter *n* appears to be crossed out: perhaps also the first *h*. 49. 27 Nov.

50. In 1302 'Donn Mag Uidhir, king of Fir Manach, namely, the first king of Fir Manach of the sons of Mag Uidhir, rested in Christ' (*Ann. of Ulst.*).

51. Corrected to *continetur* by a later hand (Ussher's?). The 'antiquum registrum' can hardly have been the book from which these extracts were taken; for it was not a century old when they were written. This sentence is therefore probably from the pen of O'Cassidy. Thus we learn that his compilation was in part transcribed from an older Diocesan Register.

52. This is copied from Ussher's *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, cap. 17 (Works, vi, 417), where the substance of the passage is said to have been derived from the 'Registrum Clochorensis.' It is also found in Ware, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, 1665 p. 46; *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus eius Disquisitiones*, 1658, p. 85; but it is there, as I now believe (though I lately maintained the contrary opinion in the *Irish Church Quarterly*, x. 236), copied from Ussher, and not directly from the Register. It is of course not a textual quotation, and it probably combines two passages from different parts of the Register. But it is of historical importance, and I have therefore thought it well that it should be included in this collection of Extracts. It is unfortunate that Ussher has not transcribed the text of the *Actio* which he tells us the Register contained. I have omitted some phrases which are obviously added by Ussher. See further above, pp. 228, 229, 230. 53. See above, p. 240f, with note 4.

54. Germanus was bishop of Rathluraigh (Maghera), then the see of what is now known as the Diocese of Derry, in 1245. In 1246 he was postulated to the Archbishopric of Armagh

Rathlurenensis⁵⁵ episcopi et nationis suae de Kaenel-eogain⁵⁶ ecclesia de Ardsratha,⁵⁷ cum pluribus aliis ecclesiis de Opheathrach,⁵⁸ per Ardmachanorum vero praesulum potentiam, ecclesia Ludunensis cum tribus decanatibus de Drothid-hatha,⁵⁹ de Atrio Dei⁶⁰ et de Dundelga⁶¹ Clochorensi dioecesi subtracta (fuerunt);⁶² qua de re Davidis in Reynaldum Armachanum Archiepiscopum⁶³ ibidem recitatur actio, data Perusii, Idus Augusti, anno Domini mcllii, pontificatus Innocentii IV anno xii.

EXTRACT X.

⁶⁴Ego Ruaricus scripsi 1525.

EXTRACT XI.

(Register ff.43r-44v).

Hymnus in Laudem Sancti Macartini⁶⁵

⁶⁶Festum dignum celebrantes
Sanctum uirum venerantes
Makartinum et laudantes
Exaudi nos Trinitas.

Sordes mentis formidabat
Stultas gentes castigabat
Quod exemplis solidabat
Per uirtutis opera.

Est confessor fide plane
Virgo fertur castitate
Martyr fatur sponte fame
Apostolus predicans.

Laborantes in dolore
Supplicantes cum amore
Sed letantes sunt fauore
Precibus⁶⁷ praesulis.

Qui peccati nescit fraudem
Et prelati uita tandem
Trinitati tulit laudem
In multis miraculis.

Cecos surdos salutauit
Et immundos lepra lauit
Moribundos suscitauit
Makartinus pontifex

(Cal. Docs. Irel., i, 2774, 2829; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1232, pp. 461, 481; Cal. Papal Letts., i, 228, 331). From the present passage we learn that his surname was O Cerbhallain. See further *L.A.J.*, vol. iv, p. 140, note.

55. Ussher glosses, 'sive Derensis.'

56. Ussher adds 'sive Tir-oen.'

57. Ardstraw, the parish in which is Newtown Stewart, Co. Derry.

58. Ui Fiachrach, the tribe whose territory surrounded Ardstraw. The churches here mentioned are probably those of the deanery of 'Maguritha' enumerated in the Taxation of the Diocese of Derry in 1306 (Cal. of Docs. Irel. 1302, p. 216). The family of Germanus—the O'Carolans—were connected with that district. See Reeves, *Visitation of Archbishop Colton*, pp. 18, 60f.

59. Ussher adds, 'Pontana ea est, vulgo Drogheda dicta.'

60. Ussher adds, 'vulgo Athirdee.'

61. Ussher adds, 'vulgo Dundalke.'

62. Ussher: 'fuisse referuntur.'

63. Reynard or Raigned, Archbishop 1247-1256.

64. So the Register ended according to Harris (Ware's Works, i, 187; ii, *Writers*, 93). For Ruaricus see above p. 226 and p. 233, note 3.

65. In L² the title is a later addition. K adds to it 'episcopi Clochorensis etc. (sic) fundatoris monasterii Clochorensis qui obiit 9 Calend. Aprilis 506.'

66. This Hymn is not in D. It is printed here from L²K. The subjoined note in these MSS. (below, p. 257) is sufficient evidence that both it and the Lesson which follows it were added to the Register by Bishop O'Cuillean three years after O'Cassidy had finished his work. Cp. below p. 257, note 97, and see extract x. The hymn was printed in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. v, p. 186f., from a copy in the Cashel Diocesan Library, which was apparently transcribed from K. 67. l. *precibusque*.

Infirmantes uisitabat⁶⁸
 Expirantes suscitabat
 Plures gentes baptizabat
 Cum sancto Patricio.

Hic in terris fuit fortis
 Nunc in celis bone sortis
 Nos a pena dire mortis
 Macartinus liberat.

Sancto Deo quisque⁶⁹ uiuit
 Iesu Christo obediuit
 Mundo uicto post exiuit
 Ad eternam gloriam.

Deus trinus qui est unus
 Quique⁷⁰ nobis prestat munus
 Quo sit clerus hic securus
 In perenni gloria. Amen.

[LECTIO]⁷¹

⁷²Beatus, et electus, dei pontifex makartinus de nobili prosapia Aradentium ortus sancto Patricio Hybernencium apostolo humiliter se tradens† cuius Comes inseperabilis† et dilectus fuit,⁷³ qui propter ipsius fortitudinem per† trans fluminum vada atque paludes sanctum Patricium portabat, et in praedicatione uerbi Dei indefessus ei extitit adiutor. Quodam die cum in Italia essent uerbum dei ad vissum†⁷⁴ patris sui quibusdam regibus praedicare cepisset, tunc in muro eiusdem ciuitatis ciues supersedentes ipsum irriserunt, sed Deum orauit ut illas† quoquomodo ad fidem reduceret, et statim illi muro corruente ad terram ceciderunt, sed seruo Dei signum crucis eis opponente nequaquam laesi sunt, nec mora pedibus illius prouoluti veniam acceperunt, qua accepta baptissmata succeper[unt] ac demum christi miles ad beatum Patricium est reversus.

Tempore procedente⁷⁵ sanctus Patricius vliidae (?) committante ipsum uero Makartino uerbum dei praedicaret, quidam Diaboli miles uoluit ipsum suo gladio percutere, cui sanctus Makartinus iussu beati Patricii se opposuit et vexillo sanctae crucis opposito ilico terra obtemperat et os suum aperiens ut dathan et abiron illum deglutiuit. Denique ad maneorum gentem⁷⁶ in fide docenda a sancto Patricio destinatus fidem renuerunt donec tres mortuos gentiles ibidem sepultos resuscitaret, tunc uir dei cum oratione diu stetisset praelati mortui scilicet pater et duo eius filii finita oratione resurrexerunt, et continuo illis rebellibus uiam salutis quamuis gentiles† praedicauerunt et ipsi fidem sic confitentes baptissati, et demum cum gaudio in busca†⁷⁷ sua reuersi sunt, et in pace dormierunt, quo miraculo facto illi gentes crediderunt et locus in quo haec facta sunt ad monasterium ibi construendum tradiderunt. Denique cum ipse in uniuersali praedicaret sem[en] vitae per hiberniam serendo iuuenilis annos aetatis suae transegit⁷⁸ die quadam Patricium patrem more solito transiens per quoddam flumen et portans sacrum onus deponendo suspirauit et percontatus⁷⁹ a pio patre ut quid suspiraret inquit pater accedente senio vires meae deficiunt, et assiduum me grauat iter, fac igitur in†⁸⁰ si placet in

68. K: *uisitauit*.69. K: *quasi*.70. Corrected from *quoque* in L².

71. This word is not in the MSS.

72. This Lesson is given in full in D. Only the first few lines are in L²K. It is evidently taken from a Life of St. Mac Cairthinn. It has much in common with the fragment of his Life which still remains in the *Codex Salmanticensis* (ed. de Smedt and de Backer, col. 799).73. L² adds 'etc.' K adds 'sep. in cenobio ecclesie sue de Clocher.' Both MSS. omit the remainder of the Lesson.74. l. *ad iussum*.75. The word *cum* seems to be omitted.

76. A translation of Fir Manach, i.e. Fermanagh.

77. l. *busta*.78. l. *transegisset*. Here the fragment in *Cod. Sal.* begins.79. Corrected from *percunctatus*. 80. l. *me*.

vno loco Deo et tibi servire, sanctus Patricius ait, placet ait vade in bone†⁸¹ et monasterium construe in platea ante regalem sedem Ergallencium inde resurrecturus in gloria, illa desolabitur, tua vero sedes de die in diem augmentabitur† de cuius sacro Cymiterio plures ad beatam vitam sunt resurrecturi.⁸² Deinde vir sanctus ad praefatam plateam perveniens Clochorensis fundavit monasterium et pro tunc eocharo regni tenensuit†,⁸³ qui viro Dei in multis molestus esse caepit bouem vnam qui vsui fratrum necessaria portabat a pratis coerceri et ad lapidem ligari iussit, qui cum longa inedia affligeretur tres dedit mugitus, quibus auditis Magus ait male fecisti bouem episcopi ligari ipsius enim erat†⁸⁴ vbicunque terrae tuae mugitus illius sonuerunt quod probat effectus†,⁸⁵ quam prophetiam rex cassari intens†⁸⁶ filium suum carbre nomine paruulum aetate iuven†⁸⁷ veruum dei tracta manu expelli, et regina puerum ire prohibuit, ne sanctum virum, ad quem eum benedicendum duxit sed regis timor baptissari non permisit in aliquo contristaret Sed regis† in istente†⁸⁸ puer flens cogitur exire flet mater, puero exeunti pomum dedit, quod ipse cum ad mediam plateam perveniret, perdidit, cum huc illuc perditum quaereret† sopor eum oppressit res mira, turba perditum et equitum multitudo vbi⁸⁹ transibat sed puer a nullo tactus, et nulli comparuit pater stupet quod tam diu filius moratur quaeritur et non inuenitur aula plangit, a regina nox sequens inquietata transit crastina die luscente puer expergiscitur, pomum perditum reperit, letus domum revertitur gaudent cuncti, rem narrat ex ordine, et se apud Makartinum sub vestimento suo optimum odorem naribus meis percipere putaram.⁹⁰

Rex vero magicis artibus haec ab episcopo fieri dicens praefectum suum cum vase aqua pleno vt igne† extingueret, et illum eiiceret missit, qui cum ad sanctum perveniret eius manus riguerunt pedibus† eius terrae adheserunt veniam petiens solutus est et remeavit, Videns Rex quod praefectus et sui nihil pro eo fecerent†⁹¹ ad virum dei interficiendum perrexit, et cum moueret ad percuciendum sanctum velut lapidea statuta irriguit quo viso regina illum solui rogavit et pius pater aqua benedicta regem perfundens soluit, qui continuo humi prostratus quicquid ei praeciperet se facturum promissit, et terram ad monasterii opus dedit ei.

Die quadam solito more divinam legens paginam nimio exarscit legendi desiderio vnde nocturnis incumbentibus tenebris deus dilecti sui desiderio satisfaciens tota nocte monasterium illuminavit, aliquando inceptam diluculo praedicationem ad sequens mane produxit. Alia quadam nocte non habens vnde hospitibus victum redderet, adeo obtinuit frumentum tota nocte in monasterium, fecit etiam fontem aquae scaturire ita quod panis habuit saporem mellis, et aqua saporem vini ex his eosdem hospites saciauit, vnde omnes hoc videntes quam eum tam altissimum glorificauerunt.

81. l. *pace*.

82. Corrected from *resurrexuri*. Here *Cod. Sal.* inserts: 'Et addidit, Accipe, inquit, baculum itineris mei quo ego membra mea sustento, et scrinium, in quo de sanctorum apostolorum reliquiis et de sancte Marie capillis et sancta cruce domini et sepulcro eius et aliis sanctis reliquiis continentur. Quibus dictis dimisit eum cum osculo pacis, paterna fultus benedictione.' The *scrinium* is evidently the Domnach Airgid. See the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, ed. Stokes, p. 175, and cp. above p. 245. The omission of this passage by Bishop O'Cuilleán seems to have been deliberate (see appended note, p. 257), and is not without importance for the history of the shrine.

83. l. *sceptrum tenens fuit*.

84. l. *erit*.

85. l. *euentus*.

86. l. *uolens ?*

87. l. *iubens*.

88. l. *rege insistente*.

89. l. *ibi*.

90. In this enigmatical clause *Cod. Sal.* omits *se*, and reads *putat*.

91. Corrected from *fecissent*.

Erat enim⁹² in vicino monasterio vir quidam nomine Redus,⁹³ a quo petebat vt bouem vnum quem habebat in praedio suo pasci permetteret, sed ipse negauit, tunc vir sanctus prophetisse† ait te nouem milites decollabunt, quorum adventus, aut redditus nescitur, tunc vero praedium erit meum, quod totum completum est, et etiam liberauit quandam mulierem, diu a daemone vexatam et sana rediit ad Domum suam.⁹⁴

Nocte quadam sanctus Makartinus cuidam mulieri in visione apparuit dicens offera† mihi seruicium tuum, et illa inquit Domine cum vnico filio meo in tuo desiderio sepeliri monasterio, cui sanctus ait, quinta feria proxima filius tuus decollabitur, et tu morieris si meis non acquiesceris verbis, in crastino ipsa febris correpta, eidem sancto se perhemiter† seruituram promissit, si eius meritis instans periculum evaderet sequenti vero nocte Idem sanctus in sompnis ei apparuit dicens memor esto promissionis tuae perhemi† seruido mihi deseruiens et de tela quam interficia† habens†⁹⁵ offer lintheamen et haec† nocte sanitatem recuperes, quod totum factum est His de multis miraculis ipsius paucis praelivatis†⁹⁶ Idem Pontifex omnibus vitae suae diebus mundo caruit, et debitis seculi aerumnis relictis caelo gaudente, et terra plorante nono Kal. Aprilis ad Christum migravit ovans, qui sine fine viuunt et regnat.

Suprascriptum officium⁹⁷ fuit hic per Reverendum uirum Patricium Culinn episcopum Clochorensem ad utilitatem publicam ecclesie Clochorensis redactum ex antiquis libris ordinis sancti Augustini studiose transcriptum, et secundum usum Romanum in melius ordinatum atque⁹⁸ reformatum superflua reticendo⁹⁹ ac¹ diminuta augendo et perfectius emendando, Anno Domini 1528²

92. An omitted sentence, implied by this word, appears in *Cod. Sal.*: 'Mirificauit dominus sanctum suum in hiis et non solum in hiis signis, uerum etiam in spiritu prophetie dotauit.'

93. *Cod. Sal.* omits the name.

94. The incident here referred to is related at length in *Cod. Sal.* as a posthumous miracle. The concluding paragraph, 'Nocte quadam' etc. is not in *Cod. Sal.*

95. l. *interfectam habes*?

96. This clause, which is obviously corrupt, represents a conventional form of conclusion of the lives of saints. Cp. e.g. *V. s. Cronani*, 28 (Plummer, ii, 30): 'Hec pauca dicta de uirtutibus sanctissimi seni nostri Cronani, et pauca de miraculis, que per eum Christus egit . . . scripsi. Ipse etiam Christi famulus incredibiliter nobis tepidis misericordia . . . seruans diuina mandata . . . feruebat'; after which follows an account of his death, the date thereof, and the ascription, 'cui est honor,' etc.

97. This word seems to imply that Bishop O'Cuillean wrote a complete office of St. Mac Cairthinn, which included the Hymn and Lesson, and perhaps other elements now lost. Since the Lesson began near the end of f. 43r (as we learn from the foliation in the margin of D), we may infer that the Office began on that page. So large an addition to the Register—occupying at least two consecutive leaves—is more likely to have been written at the end than in a blank space at an earlier place. Hence it probably followed Extract x. If so, the Register, as originally written by O'Cassidy, filled about 42 leaves, each of which had approximately the same amount of matter as a leaf of D (see p. 249, note 99). Our extracts therefore give us rather less than a quarter of its contents.

98. K: *et*.

99. So L¹ marg.; L²: *superflua recitando*; K: *super falcia retinendo*.

1. K omits.

2. It is difficult to understand how, after reading this note, Harris could have described O'Cuillean as the author of the poem (Ware's Works, i, 187; ii, *Writers*, p. 93).



Some Ulster Proverbs.

IT is just ten years since the *Sean-focla Uladh* or "Proverbs of Ulster" was published. That collection, including variants, contains over two thousand proverbial sayings. Since then I have continued to collect, and as there is little chance of a second edition of the above-named work appearing, I have asked the editor of this JOURNAL for a more abiding place for the proverbs now in hand than the ephemeral pages of a notebook. There should be no apology needed for publishing these proverbs in an Archæological Journal, as they are fast becoming things of the past. The philosophic repose of mind which looked deep into things, and moralised on causes and effects, and treasured up these moralisings in the form of proverbs, seems to be impossible under modern conditions of life, where the press and the telegraph provide us with an endless succession of news and sensations, and this so rapidly that we have hardly begun to reflect on one when we are startled by another, so that reflection ever thwarted and cut short, is daily becoming more atrophied through the denial of functional activity. Of course the twentieth-century man leads a busier and more strenuous life than his predecessors of former ages, but this will not account for the phenomenon to which I am referring. In the Irish-speaking districts they have plenty of spare time, especially in the winter, yet the younger generation even of those who speak Irish well, evince no desire whatever to know and appreciate proverbs as their forefathers did, and it is safe to predict that in thirty or forty years more instead of the two or three thousand proverbs hitherto current in any Irish-speaking district there will be found only a few score left. Hence there is need to collect these while we have them. The old seanachie who now quotes proverbs for us learnt these about the fifties or sixties of last century, when life in the rural parts of Ireland was very different from what it is to-day. That society has vanished, and with it the greater part of the characteristic mentality of the Gael. These proverbs afford us many a hint and many a sidelight on that mentality, and hence have a claim on the attention of students of Irish archæology. As Robert MacAdam wrote sixty years ago, "They (old proverbs) are as much the fragmentary relics of the days gone by as the ruined walls of our castles, or the moss-grown stones of our cromlechs."

Besides this many of them embody truths that will last as long as humanity itself; and are worth knowing for their own sake. I often smile on hearing a modern shrewd observer tell that he has discovered so and so to be invariably the case,

when I remember that this same observation had been made, and had become crystallised in an Irish proverb, perhaps a thousand years ago, and would have been part of this man's intellectual inheritance before he reached manhood had he been born in an Irish-speaking district. For one who cares to avail himself of this old-world philosophy, collections such as this, and that in the *Seán-foctá Uladh*, will provide him with the same material he would find in an Irish-speaking district, but will not unfortunately impart that philosophic cast of mind which treasured proverbs as the gold dust of life and revelled in their daily—aye hourly—use and application.

HENRY MORRIS.

[TRANSLATION.]

AS CO. ÁR'D MAČA.

FROM CO. ARMAGH.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I. Ná tréiḡ an bočar mar ḡeall ar
an aitéḡiorra.</p> <p>2. Ir maic an fárb' d'eireadh an lae.</p> <p>3. Ói ré caomail ir raoiteamail
sur éail ré a éiú.</p> <p>4. Lámcéann cuilinn,
Buailtin coill,
Punann amáin,
Aḡur uplár ḡlan.</p> <p>5. Má' r b'réas uaim i,
Ir b'réas éḡsam i.</p> <p>6. An ruo nac éiḡin ir doibinn.</p> <p>7. Čan feil uaiḡ no léiḡear ar a'
ḡrād.</p> <p>8. Ir doilḡ fáḡail ó ḡearaib' a'
ḡrād.</p> <p>9. Ná coḡail oib'ce ra tois a b'fuit
rean duine pórtá ar m'naoi
óis.</p> <p>10. Dá'ad an lín ort.</p> <p>11. Má' r fuar an teac'taire,
Ir fuar an f'neasra.</p> <p>12. Ceann con ar m'aroin earraiḡ
Ir ceann maḡaib' eile ar an
t'pá'cnóna.</p> | <p>1. Don't desert the high road for the
short cut.
<i>See Seán-foctá Uladh, No. 783.</i></p> <p>2. The end of the day is a good
prophet.
<i>See S-f. Uladh, No. 387.</i></p> <p>3. He was gentle and civil until he
lost his reputation.</p> <p>4. A handstaff of holly,
A buailtin¹ of hazel,
A single sheaf,
And a clean floor.
<i>(These were the conditions for good
threshing of corn.)</i></p> <p>5. If it is a lie as I tell it,
It is a lie as I got it.
<i>(Said of unauthenticated news or
story.)</i></p> <p>6. The thing that is not a necessity
is pleasant (to do).</p> <p>7. There is no physician or cure for
love.</p> <p>8. It is hard to escape from the
bonds of love.</p> <p>9. Never sleep a night in a house
where an old man is married to
a young woman.</p> <p>10. The drowning of the flax on you.
<i>(A bitter imprecation: when flax is
drowned it is not taken up till it
is partially rotten.)</i></p> <p>11. If the messenger is cold (careless,
indifferent) the answer is cold.</p> |
|--|---|

1. The striking part of the flail.

13. Sin port a cuaró tairt.
14. Té ir áirde cainnt,
Sé ir írle obair.
15. An ruo atá ra' éndám tá pé ra
rmiop (nó rmaoir).
16. Can feil vealg ar bit nac bfeil
zéar.
17. Tnúr nac bfeiceann folur na
bflaitéar ariam:—
Aingeal an uadair,
Leanó san bairce,
Ašur céile fášairt.
18. Ir annám ir fearr an veiread
ná an túr.
19. Deagan a máo furur a léigear.
20. Ca otis šortá ar tpiomáct.
21. Má tis reidó ar bit i noiaró De
tis amair ndear fearcainn.
22. Ca minice cor ar an žealag ná
cor ar an incinn.
23. Ir žear rúil a' máoaró ocraig.
24. Can feil tuile ann nac otmáigeann
áct tuile na nšrár.
25. Bíonn blar ar an annám.
26. Ir ionann le ršrírte átrac oibre.
27. Aš cur claidé tairt fá'n páire
leir an euaé a comneailt
irtoig.
28. Curo a' éromam a folatár féin.
29. Can fášann duine eolar i nairšr.
30. Tis na žearrain ar Connra áro
máca
Ir na cailini veapa ar Connra
an Dúin.
31. Com bneagac le táillur.
12. A hound's head on a spring morn-
ing, but another dog's head on
the evening.
(The spring morning is apt to be
mild, like the gentle sleek head of
the hound, but the evening may
grow rough and cold.)
13. That's a tune that is past.
(Said to people who tell of the things
they did or the times they en-
joyed long ago.)
14. He who is loudest of talk
Is lowliest of work.
(See sean-focla ulao, No. 361.)
15. What is in the bone is in the
marrow.
16. There is no thorn that is not sharp
(And no affliction that has not its
own peculiar sting.)
17. Three who will never see the light
of heaven:—
The angel of pride (the devil),
An unbaptized child,
And a priest's mistress.
18. Seldom is the end better than the
beginning.
(See sean-focla u., No. 445.)
19. Little said is easily cured.
20. Famine never comes from drought
(i.e., a dry season).
21. If there is any jewel that comes
after God it is the south-west
rain.
(In spring when there is no growth,
and everything is dry and bare
from the cold east wind, a day or
two of south-west rain causes
crops and trees to burst into leaf
and become clothed with verdure.)
22. The changes of the moon occur
not oftener than the changes of
the mind.
23. Sharp is the eye of the hungry dog.
24. All floods ebb but the flood of
grace.
(See sean-focla u., No. 79.)
25. There is a taste on the rare thing.
(See sean-focla u., No. 1292.)
26. A change of work is equivalent to
a rest.
27. Putting a fence around the field
to keep in the cuckoo.
(Said of a useless undertaking.)

32. Com foighead le cat.
 33. Com shann le rmeadaib i mbeal-
 tain.
 34. Com shaebealac le mucuib
 Orhoiclad dta.

AS CO. MUNEDAICAIN.

35. An cuioisgad 'a mead ir cuio-
 isgad e
 Ir an cuioisgad 'a laigead ir
 cuioisgad e.
 36. Ir fada o'n creic an ceitrim.
 37. Maic i noiaid an uile.
 38. Maire an earras
 Ir Maire an roghair—
 Dionn riad coramaic le ceile.

AS CO. TIR EOGAIN.

39. Dar doine,
 Surde Satairn,
 Agus adalcaid Domnaig.
 40. Ar tur inr a' coilid,
 Ar veiread inr a' monaid,
 Ar eul a' shada,
 Agus ar aghaid a' muilteora.
 41. Ir feairn bochan lan no cairlean
 moir pollam.
 42. Fearcainn do'n laog,
 Agus saot do'n uan;
 A rait do'n muic
 So raadair ri un ruain.
 43. Slainte go rluigaid tu,
 Agus buaid go rluigaid tu.
 44. Ma teirdeann tu cuige cuirm shan
 cuiread tabair do rtoil fein
 leat.

28. The crow's share is (what she
 makes by) her own economy.
 29. A person does not get knowledge
 for nothing.
 (See Sean-focla u., No. 265.)
 30. The (good) horses come from Co.
 Armagh,
 And the pretty girls from Co.
 Down.
 31. As lying as a tailor.
 (Tradesmen, particularly tailors and
 shoemakers, got a very bad name
 for untruthfulness, owing no
 doubt to their constantly failing
 to keep their word with their
 customers.)
 32. As patient as a cat.
 33. As scarce as blackberries in May.
 34. As Irish as the pigs of Drogheda.
 (Drogheda must have had a name
 at one time for a breed of pigs;
 that must have been long ago.)

FROM CO. MONAGHAN.

35. The smallest help is a help
 And the greatest help is a help.
 (Said by a person who renders some
 small assistance by way of apology
 for not giving more.)
 36. The plaster is far from the wound.
 (Said if one suggested a far-away
 remedy for anything.)
 37. Good after the evil.
 38. March of spring, and March of
 autumn (i.e., September); they
 are generally like each other
 (i.e., character of weather).

FROM CO. TYRONE.

39. To die on Friday,
 To be prayed for on Saturday.
 And buried on Sunday.
 (This was the Gael's ideal of a lucky
 death: the proverb is wide-
 spread; I heard it also in Co.
 Donegal and Co. Galway.)
 40. First in the wood,
 Last in the bog,
 Behind the smith,
 And before the miller.
 (See Sean-focla u., No. 788.)
 (The man who goes first in a wood

45. Mada so ndeanfaró tú rpdóirre
nuair a b'éar tú ós éa rcean
tú é 'so fean-ouine.

46. Naé maic an obair lá Máirta
ceanaó (= ceanaó) fáinne
muice?

47. Ir minic a bhionnir maé ar maóóis,
nuair a cérbéannir r'iaimóis
amuíá.

48. Éa bain re méar de n-a írón so
raó ré anhrin.

AS OILEAN REACRANN.

49. Tá blaéa bána ar fáirí an
iaráirre.

50. Ir ruai'neac (= ruaimneac) béal
rpuirre.

51. Sá báile tá'n saol.

52. Tá neao beas níor ceo nó neao
móir.

53. Sláinte fá'raic ir beannaóe Ríóe
Reacrann
Ir clann na n'gaebeal ór cionn
cloinne na n'sall.

54. Tá mairneac an bpu'oeairáin (=
bronn-oeairáin) áise.

55. Ir feárr ceabaó mall nó san
ceabaó ioir.

sees where he is going, those who follow do not, and are apt to get hit by the rebounding branches. The man who goes first in a bog has to test the soft places and may sink in them, while those behind will profit by his experience. Keep behind the smith to avoid getting the sparks in the eyes, but keep in front of the miller when he is dealing with your meal, especially when he is weighing out the *maotar* or "towel"—the price he charges for his service—lest he defrauds you.)

41. A full cabin is better than an empty castle.

42. Rain (i.e., damp weather) is best for the calf,

And wind (dry weather) for the lamb,

But food in plenty is best for the pig until she goes off to sleep.

(See *Sean-focla* u., No. 1239.)

43. (A toast)—

Health may you swallow,

And victory (or success) may you win.

44. If you go to a feast uninvited bring your own stool with you.

45. Unless you make sport when young you'll not do it when old.

46. Is it not fine work on a March day making a pig's ring.

(Said sarcastically of one doing any trivial thing while important work remains to be done.)

47. The woodlark is often lucky while the *sgiamhog* goes to loss.

(Said in reference to pretty girls who fail to get married. The *riabhog* is a grey earthy colour: the *sgiamhog* is a bird of brilliant colours—the chaff-finch or tom-tit.)

48. He did not take a finger from his nose till he was there.

(Said of a very quick journey; also heard in Donegal.)

FROM RATHLIN ISLAND.

49. The white flowers are on the fisherman's garden.

(Said when white breakers cover the sea on a stormy day.)

AS CO. *Óúin na nSall.*

56. Tá dá lá ran earraic comh maic
le veic lá ran fódmar.
57. Sin rpanóys i mbéal rir eile.
58. Bí ar meirge nó in do céill
congubúis do incinn asat féin.
59. Leir a méin a bhréastar ac uile
nó, ac béir an rsiam as an
té ar seinead do í.
60. Ir beas an veor folá nac teo é
ná 'n t-uirge.
61. (a) Pór bean oileain ir pórraó
tú an t-oileain uilís.
- (b) Pór bean ar gleann ir
pórraó tú an gleann uilís.
62. 'San uais atá an focar san
máoirdeam.
63. Tá na daoine sheannmára uilís
ra' triorruideac.
64. Ir beas an fuo ir buaine ná an
uaine.
65. Ir buideac le Dia an umluigeac.
66. Ní do sac uaine a beara Dia
innleac.
67. Cá rucú Dia rior dá mácar.
68. Duine rona ró-cómarleac,
Duine rona ró-cómarleac.
69. Cionn rinn,
Béal rearb,
Incinn buaidearb,
Asur póca rollam—na ceirre
ruoi ir meara amuis.

50. A shut mouth is peaceful.
51. It is at home the friendliness is.
52. A little nest is warmer than a big
one.
(And a small humble home more
friendly than a mansion.)
53. (A toast)—
The health of (St.) Patrick and
the blessing of the king of
Rathlin,
And the children of the Gael over
the children of the Gall.
54. He has the courage of the robin.
(Said sarcastically.)
55. To plough late is better than not
to plough at all (= idir).

FROM CO. DONEGAL.

56. Two days in spring are as good as
ten days in the harvest.
(As much corn could be sown in two
days as would occupy ten days
in reaping—when reaping was
done by sickles.)
57. That's a spoon in another man's
mouth.
(Said when, through death or any
other cause, a position or office
becomes vacant.)
58. Let you be drunk or sober keep
your mind to yourself.
59. Beauty is the possession of him
to whom it is born, but it is
manner that captivates every-
one.
60. It is a small drop of blood that is
not warmer than water.
(And a very small relationship is
warmer than utter strangeness.)
61. (a) Marry an island woman and
you marry the whole island.
(b) Marry a woman out of the glen
and you marry the whole glen.
(See Sean-focla u., No. 114.)
62. There is peace in the grave, yet
no one boasts of it.
63. The pleasant humorous people are
all in eternity.
(This is hardly a proverb, but it is
the description of an old woman
in contrasting the people of to-
day with those she knew in her
youth.)

70. Na trí níos ír neamh-fuimeamla
 o'fear a diúltao fá o'caoiú
 oo—bean, báo, ír béatao
 capall.
71. An bean bán—mar b'éao an lán
 amaó ír írtao;
 An bean dub—mar o'imteóao
 an t-uirge ó'n trídís;
 An bean donn—mar b'éao long
 ar uirge slan.
72. Mo trí truaíge naoi n-uairé
 Oileain bóca 'ran taoib ó Tuair,
 Mar cá Toráís, Uais, 7 Arainn.
73. Mo trí truaíge naoi n-uairé ar
 a' uime a béar beo eaoar a'
 Cealla beasa asur 'Orioeao
 a' Máir (in aimir a' ósao).
74. Sgéal móir faoa bin,
 Óa máit an t-im leir an arán;
 Sgéal eile beas san ruim,
 Cúao an t-im so leicir
 Ceannain.
75. Ropcaite, Ropcaite, tiocparó
 an t-am a beit caite,
 Le linn na b'ear bhíonn tiocparó
 an tonn fá Ropcaite.
76. (a) Na bhairne bóca Óúim na
 n'Sall,
 A cúirfear a s'ann com tuis,
 Ní tís ublaí ar a' mbarr
 So s'uirtear railleao le n-a
 mbun.
- (b) Na bhairne rin i n'Óúim na
 n'Sall,
 Mbíonn na crainn aca com
 tuis,
 Níl dúil díobta ublaí beit 'r a'
 mbarr,
 San rail a beit ar a mbun.
77. Ná bí lom leir an talam nó
 beiró an talam lom leat.
64. Any small thing is more lasting
 than a person.
 (Little articles he made or possessed
 remain when he is gone.)
65. Humility is grateful to God.
66. It is not to everyone God gives
 cleverness.
67. God (even) did not give knowledge
 to His mother.
 (This probably refers to the answer
 our Lord made to His Mother at
 the marriage feast at Cana, and
 is used as an excuse for with-
 holding information from women.)
68. A prosperous person—easily ad-
 vised,
 An unfortunate person—hard to
 advise.
69. A sick head,
 A bitter mouth (of someone scold-
 ing),
 A troubled mind,
 And an empty pocket—the four
 worst things.
70. The three things the refusal of
 which is most humiliating to a
 man—a wife, a boat, and a
 horse.
71. The white-complexioned woman
 ebbs and flows like the tide,
 The dark-complexioned woman—
 like the water receding from
 the strand,
 The brown-complexioned woman
 —like a ship on clear water.
 (These comparisons are not very clear.)
72. My three pities, nine times, are
 the poor islands to the north,
 to wit, Tory, Uaigh, and Arran.
73. My three pities, nine times, on the
 person who will be alive between
 Killybegs and Droichead a'
 Mhais (when the war comes).
 (The latter place is along the
 Gweebarra: the people on this
 route are to be all killed.)
74. A big pleasant story—
 The bread likes the butter:
 A poor uninteresting story—
 The butter is gone to Letterkenny.
 (To pay the rent, &c.)

78. 1r fuat le Dia an fallroir.
79. An té nac n-oirrigeann do féin
oirbeódaíó ré do daoimib eile.
80. 1r oic an cearc nac rḡríobfaíó
oí féin.
81. Ní tadharrfaíó tú rcoir ba a coiróce
oo do ingin.
82. Uí fear raotáir fearḡar.
83. 1r fearr buaile tairb nó buaile
rolam.
84. An té a bfuil uirḡe 1r móim aḡe
Tá an raóḡal 'na ruirde ar a
tóm aḡe.
85. (a) Ní élaorótear fear na n-
éaóála.
- (b) Ní tuirrtear fear na n-
éaóála.
86. An boct fá'n'élaóac 7 an rairóbir
fá múnrib.
87. Deaḡan ḡo mimic a lionar an
rparan.
88. Deaḡán maoine deaḡán cúram.
89. Té a ḡlacar an raóḡal ar a
ruimínear 1r mimic a bíonn ré
ar túr.
90. ḡlac an raóḡal mar éḡ ré leat.
91. Té mbíonn raóḡal aḡe béiró
rḡéal aḡe.
92. 1r fearr cliú maic ná rairóbréar
an doimain.
93. An maic a bí ḡab amac
An maic atá tar irteac.
75. Roscaithe, Roscaithe, the time
will come and be past,
In the days of the fair men, when
the wave will cover Roscaithe.
Roscaithe is a place on the north-
west coast of Co. Donegal.
76. (a) The poor friars of Donegal,
plant their trees so closely,
But no apples come on their top
until manure is put to their roots
(b) A poorer version—probably
corrupted.
(The local explanation of this *rann*
is that some man asked the friars
of Donegal—who had a thickly
planted orchard—for some apples.
They replied that they had none.
Shortly afterwards he sent them
a rich present, and they im-
mediately sent him apples. Then
he composed the above satirical
lines.)
77. Don't be bare (i.e., niggardly)
with the land or the land will be
bare with you.
78. God hates a lazy man.
79. He who will not work for himself
will work for others.
80. She's a bad hen that will not
scrape for herself.
(The application is to persons.)
81. You will never give your daughter
a score of cows (as a dowry).
(Said to an non-industrious man.)
82. An industrious man is usually
comfortable.
83. Even a *booley* with a bull in it is
better than an empty *booley*.
(The *booley* was the milking house or
enclosure on the hills in summer.)
84. He who has water and turf (in his
own land) has the world sitting
square.
85. (a) The man of means is not
conquered,
(b) The man of means is not wearied.
(He can hold out till he wins.)
86. The poor man for the gutter, and
the rich man for the fine path
or roadway.
87. A little often that fills the purse.
88. Little means, little care.
89. He who takes the world at his
ease often comes in first

94. Té mbionn an t-áb beas air
bionn an t-áb móir air.
95. Cia a bfuil im aise zeib ré im.
96. Té a mbionn an t-áb air dairear
an bó 'ra' bairíos aise.
97. Ir caol a eisear an t-áb, áct in
a euite móir eisear an mí-áb.
98. Ar na bailte beasa gnítear na
bailte móra.
99. Ir beas a' t-rlac nac bfarann
craob uirí.
100. Bfuil cloic i n-im asur olfar a
rus.
101. Ir annam bí tarc 7 ocrar le
céite.
102. Dionn fear ocraé fearasá.
103. Ir maic an cuioisáó as 'ac an
ruo áct as méir an bpoéain.
104. Zniró teime maic cócaire tapairó.
105. Ir maigs a zeobad bár inóé 7
an lá maic acá ann inoiu.
106. Ir cuma cé iorar 'ré Domhnall
iofar.
107. Ní ac don lá mairear bó zeair-
fiad.
108. Tá éine fada fáirings asur nil
don clairó ar Albain.
109. Tá lán mara eile inr an fáirse.
110. Tá raob eile ar a' báo.
111. Can ionann boadé ir Dia.
112. Ir zoiru a bead Dia as léisear-
uáó zác loic.
90. Take the world as it comes.
91. He who has a (prosperous) life will
have many things to tell.
92. Good reputation is better than the
riches of the world.
93. The good that was—go out,
The good that is—come in.
(See sean-focla u., No. 511.)
94. He who has the little luck has the
big luck.
95. Who has butter gets butter.
(See sean-focla u., No. 612.)
96. He on whom the luck is has his
cow and heifer in calf.
97. In a fine stream the (good) luck
comes, but the bad luck in a
big flood.
98. From small towns big towns are
made.
99. It is a little rod that a branchlet
does not grow on.
(It is a poor thing that will not sup-
port something weaker than itself.)
100. Boil a stone in butter and its juice
will be drunk.
101. Seldom are hunger and thirst
found together.
102. A hungry man is peevish.
103. Help is a good thing everywhere
except at the dish of porridge.
(See sean-focla u., No. 556.)
104. A good fire makes a quick cook.
105. Pity him who died yesterday con-
sidering the good day we are
having to-day.
106. No matter who eats Domhnall
pays.
(See sean-focla u., No. 1318.)
107. It is not every day a cow kills a
hare.
(Rare luck seldom happens.)
108. Erin is large and generous and
Scotland is not exhausted.
(So between the two we are bound to
make a living.)
109. There is another tide in the sea.
(Another chance will come again.)
110. There is another side on the boat.
(Another alternative left.)
111. God is not the same as a *bodach*
(a big wealthy man).
(The latter is hard hearted : not so
God, hence let us pray to Him.)

113. Dìonn crìonnaact crìgearaç.
114. Nì feiceann an òuine a loct féin.
115. Tá riad fíor máit atá ñan loct.
116. Toirt ñan tairbe.
117. Bean ñan leanb bean ñan leit-rséal.
118. Añ òiol coirce 7 añ ceannaact mine.
119. Añ òiol meala 7 añ ceannaact mitreain.
120. (a) Scabað na baatala, añur cruinmuñað na rìebìn.
- (b) Añ cruinmuñað na rìebìn, añur añ rpréireað na ñcorriós.
121. Má'r maite leat òo méar a ñearrað cuir roim a' òorran é.
122. Té rìear a tuitear.
123. Ir fearr aral à ioméarar tñ, ná beataç a caitear tñ.
124. Níl 'fíor añ an òuine cia ir fearr luar nó moill.
125. Níl 'fíor añ fear an taoib tãll ñoite mári tá fear an taoib òrur.
126. Can tártail ñan férom é.
127. Can cuireað ñan òeoc é.
128. Truañ ñan tártail añ cuarcuñað òorair ar a' òinn.
129. Sean rñéal 7 meirñ air.
130. "A amaðáin na ñcluara faða" ar' an t-aral le n-a òearb-ñatair.
131. Conñbuigh an enám 7 leanparò an maðað tñ.
132. Óideann beirt ruo nac òfeiceann an òuine amám.
133. Ceangail òo ñeangairò nó ceang-loçairò rì tñ.
134. Ir feirre òo rñéal maite innrint òá uair.
112. God could quickly cure all injuries.
113. Prudence (in the selfish sense) is usually hard and ungenerous.
114. A person does not see his own fault.
115. They are truly good who are faultless.
116. Size without profit.
(Said of a man who had married a big useless woman, or who had bought a big cheap useless thing.)
117. A childless wife has no excuse (for sitting down to rest).
(See Sean-focta u., No. 134.)
118. Selling corn and buying meal.
119. Selling honey and buying sugar.
(Driving a profitless trade.)
120. Gathering straws while scattering wads or pottles.
(“ Penny wise and pound foolish,” but like most Irish proverbs much more powerfully expressed.)
121. If you wish to cut your finger put it before the hook.
122. He who runs that falls.
(Who acts imprudently that comes to grief.)
123. Better an ass that carries you than a horse that throws you.
124. One never knows which is best—early or late.
125. The man beyond does not know how is the man on this side.
126. It is not assistance or comfort in vain.
127. It is not an invitation without a drink.
128. A hopeless wretch—seeking a door on the gable.
129. An old story and rust on it.
130. “ You long-eared fool,” said the ass to his brother.
131. Keep the bone and the dog will follow you.
(Refers to people in the world having the bestowal of patronage.)
132. A pair sees what one person fails to see.
133. Tie up your tongue or it will tie you.
134. A good story is the better of being told twice.

135. 1r lom sualaínn san bhráthar.
 136. 1r mairis a bionnir san deár'tar.
 137. 1r boct an ruo fear san deár'tar
 as teact na b'rear i láthair.
 138. 1r éadotrom buaille don óro.
 139. Óá méad an lán mara tráigeann
 ré.
 140. Ní fanann real mara rabar'ta
 le comrád ban.
 141. Iaparct a raoilic do'n faoillean
 an t-iaract nac b'filleann a
 coróce.
 142. 1 b'rad a cur i b'rad na turad.
 143. Coctusad na doimne
 Soineann na h-oróce.
 144. Samrad fuitteac féarmar,
 1r lá féil Eóin ar an doine.
 145. Deanra rgeal do clocaib trága.
 146. So mairid tú 1r so seaitid tú é
 So r'pócaid tú 1r so r'iallaid
 tú é.
 147. 1r rada cuimne sean leanb.
 148. 1r fupur cleact a tabairt do
 sean-leanb.
 149. Níor b'ar ré an biaid nac mblar-
 fair an b'ar.
 150. 1r iomda cor as an b'ar le baint
 ar an doine.
 151. Ar an cuiteacta móir 1r minic
 a t'is an t'ub-b'ron.
 152. Té 1r veire do teac a' p'obail
 Té 1r maile do'n airionn.
 153. Óa b'ra'tar uirge coirteada i
 teampall Sallta.
135. A shoulder without a brother is
 bare.
 136. Woe to him who is brotherless.
 137. When the men foregather it is a
 pity of him who has no brother.
 138. The blow of one sledge is light.
 (These are proverbs of a race where
 the clan instinct was strong.)
 139. However high the tide it ebbs
 away.
 (So with power, riches, etc.)
 140. A spring tide does not wait for
 women's conversation.
 (Women's talk is often very pro-
 longed : a spring tide ebbs rapidly)
 141. The loan of the wader to the sea-
 gull,
 The loan that was never returned.
 (The *Raoilich* is some wading-bird, who
 it is said, had web-feet originally, but
 she lent the webs of her feet to the
 seagull, and the latter never re-
 turned them.)
 142. Long raining, long fair.
 143. The maintenance of the bad
 weather is the good weather of
 the night time.
 (It is remarkable that in bad stormy
 weather the nights are often fair
 and calm, and the proverb means
 that by thus resting and recuper-
 ating herself nature is able to
 keep the storm going for a long
 time.)
 144. A bloody grassy summer
 And St. John's day on Friday.
 (Those two happen together accord-
 ing to this ancient belief.)
 145. You would make a story out of
 the stones of the strand.
 (Said to a good talker.)
 146. May you live and wear it till you
 tear it in strips.
 (Said to a person wearing a new suit
 for first time. See *Sean-focla*
u., No. 927.)
 147. An old child has a long memory.
 148. It is easy to teach an old child.
 149. He has not tasted food who will
 not taste death.
 150. Death has many ways of taking
 a turn out of a person.
 (In hunting when a hare is turned
 it is the prelude to her death.)
 151. Out of great company sorrow
 often comes.

154. 1r fearr uaisnear féin ná oróc-cuireadéa.
155. " 1r beas an ruo nac cuiriugad é " ar' an oriolan.
156. 1r mí-mearamail ní ar bit a nveirtear san céill
 déc 1r minic bí méin máic d'g
 daoinib' duib' s'rána.
157. d'g cur cainnt le rruic.
158. f'iaðnaire a' s'iolia b'reasais a bean.
159. 1r maigs a múirb'f'inn mo múiltín
 f'ósh'mair.
 1r tura 'do luige ar 'do leic s'o
 moðmar
 (Ar' an fear leir an b'airnead.)
160. 1 s'cionn 'ad feadémad bliadain
 1r s'adac le mic uí s'orra
 feolad.
161. ní mad ann déc na b'ráire 1r
 s'oroad na b'rósa.
162. f'orann na muca míne féin t'poris.
163. 1r f'ada leanar a' t'utcar.
164. ní deor buan poll i s'carrais.
165. ní maireann na b'reasa déc
 tamall.
166. s'áire ó 'dia cúgann.
167. 1r oic an marasad a b'riear
 beiric.
168. an té a caillear a náire seir pé
 a 'dánad.
169. s'eobair f'oisir a f'urad.
170. 'ad mbéad 'f'ior d'g t'aine a lear
 ní deanfad pé a aímleir.
152. He who is nearest to the chapel
 is the latest at Mass.
153. Holy water is not found in a
 Protestant church.
154. Better loneliness even than bad
 company.
 (See Sean-focla u., No. 181.)
155. " It is a small thing that does not
 help," says the wren.
 (Used in the same way as No. 35
 above.)
156. An utterance without sense gains
 no respect,
 And dark ugly people often have
 a nice mind.
157. Talking to a stream (and the
 stream unheeding).
158. The lying man's witness is his
 wife.
 (He calls on her to corroborate his
 falsehoods.)
159. " Alas that I should have killed
 my harvest sheep, and you re-
 posing quietly on your flag,"
 says the man to the barnacle.
160. Every seven years the sons of
 O Gorra go for a sail.
 (Some ancient superstition.)
161. There were only the friars present,
 yet the boots were stolen.
 (See Sean-focla u., No. 67.)
162. Even the fine pigs eat hogwash.
163. Natural disposition runs a long
 way.
164. It is not a lasting drop that lies in
 a hole in a rock.
165. Lies only run a short course.
166. A laugh from God to us.
 (See Sean-focla u., No. 965.
 Said after a good laugh, lest it
 might be succeeded by sorrow.)
167. It is a bad bargain that breaks
 two.
 (A bargain where one gained at the
 expense of another would be a bad
 bargain for the latter, but where
 both lost was a very bad bargain.
 It is often applied to a married
 pair who quarrel, where both their
 lives are ruined.)
168. He who loses his shame gets his
 boldness.
 (While shame clung to him he lacked
 boldness or shamelessness.)

171. Óneir ar fíde
Óneir ar fóirde.
172. Spreim rubaill an earcoim.
173. Crann cuilinn ní maíde na
coilleadó.
174. Faoitean ó'n fáirise ašur báillir
ó'n trlaid
Deirt naé uatimic ar deis-ršéat
arlam.
175. Déiró an feall i Mac Suidne fáo
ir béar bail ouó ar an
féadóis.
176. Triúr ban ir cóir a' fedaíno
Bean rricóirde,
Inšean muilteora,
Ašur rcúite an baite móir.
177. Ir 'ar šéall le bólaót a pórtar
mná.
178. Curo ran aer,
Curo ran uirge,
Curo i šeruc 7 i šcairšéada,
Ašur curo i n-irruoni uorá
ralad.
179. Ná bí ar túr bpaáa nó ar uerpeáó
caáa.
180. Sí an imiric an coimeáo.
169. Patience will get its comfort.
170. If a person knew what was for his
good he would not do his harm.
171. A while at *fíde* and a while at
foide; a while at this and a
while at that.
(This is an Innishowen proverb;
fíó is a native term there and
also in Rathlin for tweed.)
172. A hold of the eel's tail.
(A slippery grip of anything.)
173. The holly tree—the king of the
timbers of the forest.
174. A seagull from the sea, and a
bailiff on the mountain,
A pair that never come with a
good story.
(The seagull from the sea foretells
rain, and the bailiff on the
mountain betokens rent, cess,
processes, etc.)
175. The treachery will be in Mac
Sweeney as long as there is a
black spot on a plover.
(The MacSweenys as bailiffs and
henchmen of O'Donnell were
very unpopular in many parts of
Tír Éonaidl.)
176. The three women it is right to
shun (i.e., not to marry)—
The woman of the spigots (a bar-
maid),
A miller's daughter,
And a town scullion.
177. It is on account of the cattle (i.e.,
dowries) that women are
married.
178. Some in the air,
Some in the water,
Some in the hills and rocks,
And some in ugly dark hell.
(This was the distribution made of
the fallen angels; the first three
lots are now fairies.)
179. Don't be first at scouting or spying
or last at battle.
(The first scouts are the surest to first
encounter the enemy: and a person
coming up late to a battle, even if
he belong to the victorious side, may
meet with flying parties of enemy
fugitives and get killed, like Brian
Boru at Clontarf.)

181. Bí an t-éúil i n-éúil a cleáctáige.

182. Má tá do mhuingín in don éireim,
Bíod uib éirce ásat;
Ásur má tá do mhuingín in don
éirce
Bíod cóta móir ásat.

183. Má tá laigeas ar mo bóiré tá
méas ar mo fáilté.

184. Dúin gCruitin, Dúin gCruitin,
A dúin dá mbuailtear a rúicín,*
I r méara (= méara) mar béas
i t-éir a' pára reáta
i n-éireas cáta Dúin gCruitin.

AS CO. ÚOIRE.

185. Ná pág an rionnác ág buacailteáct
na n-éac

186. "I r oic an marcuigeáct ná
féarri é ná'n t-éir-éiréacáct"
arr' an éean a bí ág marcu-
ígeáct ar an t-éir éiréacáct.

187. "Marb-fáirg ar a' h-áitnéáct"
arr' an éean nuair a éarráing
rí na réacáí bína ar na coráib
t-éir.

188. Trí mí:—Sué na míne
Iaré na fáirge
Ásur ruo beas brúgáin (=
brúgáin)

189. Trí náimé an anama—an r-éacáct,
an éacáct, a' éolann.
" 'Seasó," arrá féar a bí in a
féarain,
" Ásur trí náimé na calna—
fuit, cácal, ásur bíáct."

180. Watching is the (principal part)
of the play.
(See Sean-focla u., No. 733.)

181. The eye follows or notes what it is
trained to.
Carlyle has expressed the same idea
in slightly different words—"The
eye will only see what it brings with
it the power of seeing"
Thus a tailor will note the style of
your dress; an architect the style of
a building; yet each is blind to what
the other sees.

182. If you are dependent on one bite
Have a hen's egg;
If you are dependent on one
garment,
Have a big coat.

183. Though my table may be scanty
my welcome is big.
(The apology of a poor but hospitable
man.)

184. Dun gCruitin, Dun gCruitin the
Dun where the fight will com-
mence, well for him who will be
in the beginning of the flight at
the close of the battle of Dun
gCruitin.
(Dun gCruitin, recte Dúin gCruitin,
is at Killygordon [Co. Donegal] the
Irish of the latter being Coillíó na
gCruitin. The local prophetic
tradition is that the last great war of
Ireland will open at Killygordon.
There is an old disused mill there,
and it is said the wheel will never
revolve again until it is driven round
by the flow of blood from this
terrible battlefield.)

FROM CO. DERRY (Moyola Valley).

185. Don't leave the fox herding the
geese.

186. "It is poor riding that is not
better than walking" says the
woman who was riding on the
boor-tree.

187. "Bad luck to the beauty," says
the woman when she pulled
up white stockings on her black
feet.

* Explained by narrator as a row, fight, conflict. It is not in the dictionaries, but O'Brien has
ríiméin, smite.

190. 'An Cníorctairde tú?' ar' an
rúgarct leir an fear.
"Ní head," ar'ra reirean, "ac't
Connactac."
191. Can fuil comaircá Cníorctairde air
ac't go uctéir ré an bóctar san
adartar.
192. "Ca mað a léictéir aimprire ašaiun
ó uóšad' cig Cormaic ui
Óuiblin."

-
190. "Are you a Christian," asked the
priest of the man.

"No," he replied, "I'm a Con-
nachtman."

This sarcastic saying reflects the
historical bitterness between
Ulster and Connacht, due to
political happenings of two
thousand years ago.

191. There is no mark of a Christian
on him except that he goes the
road without a halter.

Hence he is not a beast, but there
his similarity to a Christian ends.
Whether this refers to the Con-
nachtman also is unknown to the
editor.

192. We had not such times as these
since Cormac O Devlin's house
was burned.

This is a Ballinascreen saying.
Cormac O Devlin was a black-
smith whose house was burned
by the yeomanry in 1798.

188. Three things—The juice of oat-
meal, the fish of the sea, and a
moderate quantity of mashed
potatoes.

This saying requires explanation:
it evidently means that these
were three good foods, but whether
blended or otherwise is hypothet-
tical.

189. Three enemies of the soul—the
world, the devil, and the body.

"Yes," says a man who was
present, "and three enemies of
the body are blood, kale (cabb-
age) and buttermilk.

Up to a generation ago cattle were
regularly bled every spring, and
the blood was boiled and used as
food. This man took a meal of
blood pudding, cabbage and
buttermilk, and it nearly killed
him, hence his remark.

Some English writers seized on this
custom to prove the savage blood-
thirstiness of the Irish, that they
bled their cattle in order to *drink*
the blood. This was false. The
cattle were bled, just as human
beings were, under the mistaken
notion then prevailing that blood-
letting was good for health.



Louth Ordnance Survey Letters

(continued.)

The curtailment of the Journal rendered obligatory by the cost of paper allows the insertion of only one parish in this number.

4 February, 1836.

COLLON.

This parish, situated 3 miles S. of Ardee, is called COLLON. In the T.L. of Funshog in this parish was an old church, the only part of which now remaining is about 14 feet in height by 2 yards in breadth of the western gable; there is no burial at it nor any vestiges of graves. The E. part of the graveyard being surrounded with a low ditch, accessible to cattle, is used as pasturage ground, the remainder has been encroached upon.

The patron day of the parish is the 8th of Sept., the festival of the Nativity of the B.V. Mary.

There are two forts in Bellpatrick T.L., the one called *Tun mor*, the other *Matlaig air*.

There is a hill in Collon called Mount Oriel, from which the people say Lord Oriel takes the epithet; others who say that the County Louth was anciently called *Óiríall*, think that from it, this hill retains the name Oriel.

In the Annals of the Four Masters we read: A.D. 1042—"Aileall of Mucnaimh (Mucknoe), head of the monks of Ireland, died at Collon."

A.D. 1052—"Braon the son of Maolmordha, king of Leinster, died at Collon."

The principal family names in the parish are the

Flanagans	..	na Flanagáin	..	Seumas Flanagáin
Bellews	..	na Dulleagáig	..	— Dulle
Griffins	..	na Grifínig	..	— Grifín
Finigans	..	na Fionagáin	..	— a Fionagáin
Dunns	..	na Duínog	..	— Duín
Branagans	..	na Branagáin	..	— p. a Branagáin
Moonans	..	na Múnáin	..	— p. a Munán
Quins	..	na Cuínig	..	— Miceal Cuín
Carolans	..	na Cearbálláin	..	p. a Cearbálláin
Fays	..	na Féigig	..	páip a Féig
Carbrys	..	na Cairbhíig	..	S. a Cairbhíe

This church ruin of Funshog was, many years ago, formed into a circular enclosure by the late Mr. Kieran of Ashville for its preservation.

It is probable—we may say apparent—that Mount Oriel is a modern name applied to the wood in the lifetime of the Speaker Foster, Lord Oriel, or shortly after his death 1826, by his son.—ED. ARCHEOLOGICAL JOURNAL.

The late Mr. William Tempest.

THE death of Mr. WILLIAM TEMPEST on March 3rd, 1918, deprived the Society of one of its founders, one of its most honoured members and most untiring friends.

Mr. Tempest's work for the antiquities and history of County Louth did not begin with the Archæological Society. For a score of years before, the articles on these topics were a most attractive feature of his ANNUAL. In its pages he spread information about many of the ancient monuments of the County, and collected with much ingenuity out-of-the-way extracts and records of historical events. He also acted for a long period as Louth Corresponding Secretary, for the Royal Society of Antiquaries.

When Mr. Henry Morris brought together the preliminary meetings to start the Louth Archæological Society in 1903 Mr. Tempest was amongst the first to assist. He was elected one of the original Vice-Presidents, and his regular attendance at the Council, his wisdom and experience, his unflinching interest in the work of the Society, which never relaxed even to the end, and his special personal attention to the production of the JOURNAL were unique services of the greatest value to the Society which only he himself could render.

We owe it to his zeal and enterprise that the JOURNAL is one of the best in appearance, paper, type, illustration and finish of all such publications, and so keen was his interest in it that up to two years ago he used to revise the proofs himself.

His business enterprise and historical tastes also found scope in the admirable editions of Father Coleman's *Stuart's History of Armagh*, of Rev. Mr. Leslie's valuable *Kilsaran* and *Armagh Parishes*, of Father Costello's *Annatis Hiberniæ*, and in the numbers of *Ériu*. Some of the articles in this erudite periodical required the most painfully accurate proof reading of pages of complicated references and notes which he would entrust to no one else. He also initiated the testimonial to Mr. Morris on his resignation of the Secretaryship when leaving Dundalk—an appreciation in which all were grateful of the opportunity of joining. His last contribution to the JOURNAL was "Some Extracts from Irish State Papers" in the 1916 number, where the introductory text shows his genial humour. But his greatest service to the County and the Archæological Society was the acquisition of Dun Dealgan. It was he who conceived the idea of having the Fort purchased and the house used as a museum by the Archæological Society in 1910 when he found it was about to be sold. As there was not time to have this formally undertaken by the Council, he set at once about getting the approval and co-operation of a half dozen of the members as guarantors and subscribers and had the property purchased. He thus secured for the Society as representative of the people of the County this magnificent national monument, the shrine of our most famous traditions, for preservation from all danger of destruction or neglect, and at the same time provided a very appropriate home for the formation of a county museum which had been advocated hitherto in vain. For this rare possession, which we owe to his thoughtfulness and energy, for his continual interest in the Society, and also for the personal kindness that marked his manner, all the Council will ever hold his memory in affectionate respect.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1918.

THE Society organised three lectures in the year 1918 ; one in Drogheda on 23rd January by Mr. Denis Carolan Rushe, B.A., Monaghan, on " Irish Country Life a century ago," one in Dundalk in April by Mr. W. F. Butler, M.A., Commissioner of Intermediate Education, on " Louth in 1641," a valuable narrative compiled from many original sources of the incidents of the war that took place in Co. Louth.

Miss Dobbs, of Cushendall, gave the third lecture in Dundalk in November, her subject being " Conal Cearnach and the Tain Heroes," and brought many new references to illustrate it from her special studies of old Irish literature.

Afternoon excursions were carried out during the summer with much pleasure to the large parties of members and associates numbering from forty to sixty that joined in them. The Louth excursion in June began with an inspection of the two Louth Abbeys and St. Mochta's House, where Father Gogarty, C.C., Louth, gave a synopsis of the history of these foundations and of St. Mochta's earlier monastery. Ardpatrick was next visited—the hill on which St. Patrick made his abode while sojourning at Louth, and from which he went to confer with Mochta each day. The church walls remain at a height of about two feet. It was here that Blessed Oliver Plunket held his ordinations. A small house in the yard of the modern Ardpatrick House, connected with the main building was pointed out by Mr. Peter L. Macardle as the actual home of Blessed Oliver Plunket. As far as we know this identification had not been made previously, nor is there a local tradition to vouch it, but it is evidently correct, and Mr. Macardle's studies of the Archbishop's connection with Ardpatrick were unfolded in an instructive address he gave the members. The party then proceeded to Knock Abbey, where, by permission of Mr. O'Reilly, the Castle and its collection of antiquities, family portraits, and the insignia of Major O'Reilly were shown. Time did not allow a visit to the Tullyquinan cave, but Mr. Mohan, Nicholas-town, led the way, pointing out the site of the Wild Goose Lodge to the Moat of Aclint and the ancient graveyard, where Father Gogarty explained the positions of the English and Irish armies and described the famous interview between Hugh O'Neill and Essex in the river. No trace remains of Garret Fleming's Castle of Aclint, from which went forth the European scholar, Father Fleming, who was put to death for his religion at Prague

The excursion to the Cooley coast in July took in a number of important anti-quarian objects and beautiful natural features—the fort in Mountpleasant demesne, Tipping's Mount, the graveyard of Newtown and the O'Hanlon Tomb, the residence of the Councillor O'Hanlon and the old Townley Mansion, the great fort of Mount Bagnal, and the sea fort, Mota Gormley—the only promontory fort remaining in Louth since the tide washed away Dun Aine at Dunany, the Castle of Ballug and Churchyard of Templetown, the sanctuary of St. Seefin, on which Father Lawless contributed a valuable historical sketch, Maeve's Gap the reputed " humiliation of

the Ulstermen," and the beautiful Bay of Cooley. Mr. Seumas O'Hanlon's careful collection of local traditions and his critical investigation of them made him a most instructive guide.

The climb of Slieve Gullion which a very large company of over sixty undertook in the end of August was spoiled by wet and gusty weather, which produced an almost overpowering hurricane on the shelterless mountain slope. Most of the party made their way to the cave in the cairn which the zealous energy of the late Mr. Crookes and of Mr. Boyd had almost cleared of the stones, and enabled its dimensions to be observed. The struggle with the winds—one might regard them as the sidhe of the mountain—was rewarded now and again when their invisible array swept the clouds from the lower reaches of the air and exposed to view the glorious prospect of mountain, sea and checkered plain that stretched around and beneath us.

The Museum of Dun Dealgan is in good order and well looked after by Mrs. Culhane.

Miss Comerford resigned the Secretaryship of the Society last summer. For two and a half years she discharged its duties with the greatest devotion and industry, taking extreme pains to prepare minutes, reports, and all necessary correspondence. She organised the lectures and excursions with the utmost success, and by personal application she obtained many new members for the Society from many Irish and foreign libraries. Her regular inspections of Dun Dealgan Museum and constant attention to its upkeep and its finances were a most valuable service. The resolution of appreciation passed by the Council was fully deserved and its terms are literally true.

The museum was enriched this year by a gift of fossils from Mr. Green of Rostrevor—a collection made by his father, the late Mr. Green, when Borough Surveyor of Drogheda. These are far more ancient vestiges of our country's history than any of the works of men's hands, and they afford an opportunity of study to County Louth students of geology and natural history and of interesting observation and knowledge for the general visitor. A list and description of these fossils is being prepared by Mr. John MacGahon, and will be published when completed.

Miss Garstin has presented a quantity of valuable pamphlets and MSS. from the late Mr. Garstin's library from which it is hoped to publish some original materials.

In addition to the loss of Mr. Tempest, which is alluded to elsewhere, and that of other members, Mr. Charles A. Duffy and Mr. John Gore, the Council have to record their sincere regret for the death in action of Colonel Bryan Jones, a member most keenly interested in antiquarian studies and in the progress of the Society. He joined the Society on its formation, and though his military duties kept him elsewhere during most of these years, he always enquired earnestly about the work of the Archæological Society whenever leave of absence enabled him to visit Co. Louth. One of his lately expressed wishes when leaving home was that if his life should be cut short in the war, his collection of antiquarian and Irish periodicals were to be given to the library of this Society—a disposal to which Mrs. Jones has given effect.

As Captain of the Leinster Regiment he fought through the South African War and in the recent Great War he was wounded three times, mentioned in despatches, promoted to Lt.-Colonel, and received the D.S.O. and bar. Three weeks before the signing of the Armistice he was killed in action.

His studious tastes, genial manner, and attractive character made his early death all the more regretted by those who knew him and increase the general sympathy with his much-respected father, Colonel Jones, also a faithful member of this Society.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

THE JOURNAL. Issued annually to members free, non-members 3/6 each, postage 4d. Back numbers can be had from the Publisher, The Journal was first issued in 1904.

The following have been issued :

Vol. I, 4 parts—1904* 1905 (5/-) 1906 and 1907.

Vol. II, 4 parts—1908, 1909, 1910 and 1911.

Vol. III, 4 parts—1912, 1913, 1914, 1915.

Vol. IV—1916, 1917, 1918.

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Strong binding cases with bevelled edges and blocked in black and gold on grey cloth, to take each Volume (4 Journals), can be had from the Publisher, price 2/- each, or he will bind the 4 parts in the case complete for 4/6 postage extra.

W. TEMPEST, Publisher to the Society,

Dundalgan Press, Dundalk.

Vol. IV.
No. 4.

December,
1919-20

County Louth Archæological Journal.

Printed and Published for the
County Louth Archæological
Society by Wm Tempest, Printer,
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SEP 10 1995

Vol. IV.

1919-1920.

No. 4.

JOURNAL OF THE
COUNTY LOUTH
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY.

EDITED BY
JOSEPH T. DOLAN, M.A.



ESTABLISHED 1903.

DUNDALK
PRINTED BY W. TEMPEST, DUNDALGAN PRESS

1920



S Fialthar Feurathail Maξ-Muircime
Ir dh-buirde 'n t-athar ann 'ran bhogthar
Aet i steannta na mbarraí d'n iéir
Tá raotar rean-ξaodai ann go leor.

DAN LYNCH.



ALL Communications for the Editor, who will be glad to lay
any Papers or Notes of Archæological Interest before the
Council, should be addressed to

JOSEPH T. DOLAN,

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ARDEE, Co. LOUTH.

PRINTED FROM
IRISH-MADE TYPES AND PLATES
BY IRISH LABOUR.



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Ancient Hearth Sites at Termonfeckin.

NOTE BY PROF. R. A. S. MACALISTER :

(See Illustrations in this Journal facing pages 300-301.)

“ I first noticed them in 1915, when I examined the shore-coast in search for these remains. I was not the first discoverer, for in an old volume of the R.S.A.I. Journal, dating sometime in the seventies, I found a casual mention, without any particulars, of traces of hearths on the shore near Baltray. There are, in point of fact, none there, or anywhere south of the little stream that flows out at Termon Feichin—at least I have gone along the shore there several times and have never seen a trace of one. But they began just north of the stream, and continued right to the end of the sand-bank along which we walked. I found in 1915 some six or eight hearths, which I examined. There were no implements of any sort in any of them, only burnt stuff, above and below flat layers of stone, evidently placed with intention. Many comminuted shells, especially mussels, all burnt. In one place I found a small fragment of the right parietal bone of an infant. I returned in 1916, but found that the winter storms in the interval had done much damage. The sand-banks shewed traces of recent landslips and almost all the sites were no longer visible. I found only three or four of them ; and as you will remember, last year there was, I think, only one left.

“ My photographs will shew, I think, what is fairly clear on the site itself, that the hearths are on old ground-levels which have since been covered with a considerable thickness of blown sand.”

JOURNAL OF THE COUNTY LOUTH
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY.

No. 4 Combined part
for 1919-20.

DECEMBER, 1920.

[VOL. IV.]

**Some Episodes of the Civil War of 1641-53 in
Louth.**

A paper read by Mr. W. F. Butler, M.A., Assistant Commissioner of Intermediate Education, before the Louth Archæological Society at Dundalk.

In order to economise space, the introductory passages on the main incidents and features of the War, and the details of the Siege of Drogheda which were a necessary part of Mr. Butler's sketch, but which are to be found in the published histories, and also the particulars of the Dunmahon Massacre, which have been given by Mr. Morris in an earlier number of this JOURNAL (1906), are omitted.



HE first outbreak of the War, it will be remembered, was confined to Ulster. But not very long after at the Hill of Crofty in Meath took place a meeting between the Ulster leaders and the lords and gentry of the old English blood of the Pale, when for the first time the two races, up to then inveterate enemies, decided to make common cause for civil and religious freedom.

Even before this meeting the important walled towns of Dundalk and Carlingford and the whole of Louth except Drogheda passed into the power of the Ulster Irish. Sir Phelim O'Neill advanced to Mellifont on 24th November and laid siege to Drogheda, while Rory O'More occupied the middle of the country with an army of 2,000 men between Ardee and Dundalk.

[Account of Siege of Drogheda omitted.]

With the raising of the siege of Drogheda the tide turned against the Irish. Ardee was taken on March 23rd, 1642, after a sharp fight, in which, if we can believe Bernard, four hundred Irish and no English lost their lives.¹

By a rapid march Dundalk was next reached. The assailants numbered 950 resolute men; inside the town were said to be 3,000 Irish. Dundalk was strongly walled. On the south side was a suburb, walled in, but divided from the rest of the town by a cross wall, with a gateway across the street. The main street (now Clanbrassil street) ran north and south from the bridge to a little outside this cross gateway. Then it turned to south-west, and forked, the two branches, ending in gates,

1.—Bernard's account of the large numbers of the Irish slain in various encounters, with little or no loss to the English, make his figures rather suspect.

leading one to Drogheda, the other to Ardee. Just at the angle of the main street was a castle, no doubt just such a one as you can still see at Carlingford.¹

One of the southern gates, defended by five hundred Irish, was at once assaulted. After some firing the Irish ran away, but were beaten back to their posts by their commanders. Then three hundred men with pickaxes attacked the gate and wall, under cover of a heavy fire from the rest of the force. The Irish fled, and the English, both horse and foot, breaking in, pursued them and killed many. When the angle of the street which I have already mentioned was reached the pursuers saw some cannon and five hundred more men ready to receive them round the corner.² They retreated, and came under a very hot fire from the rest of the Irish musketeers who had been posted in the castle at the turning, and up to now had not fired for fear of hitting their own men. About a dozen of the assailants were killed. But Tichbourne ordered the houses near the castle to be fired; and under cover of the smoke sent men with loads of dry bean-stalks on their heads, so as to have a protection against stones cast from the castle, carrying also tow and gun powder to blow in the castle door.³ These men got safely up to the door and threw down their bundles and by means of a train exploded the powder, destroying the door. The garrison immediately leaped out of a window, and the English took possession. Thirty musketeers were placed on top, and were able to fire into the town. The Irish began to leave the town by the northern gates. The men on the castle could see the flight; and Tichbourne, hearing of it, hastened towards the farther part of the town, killing on his way about forty fugitives. Coming to an open gate, out of which numbers of the towns people were pouring, he entered without any resistance; and sent a message to Lord Moore that the town was deserted. The latter soon broke open the cross-gate, and so after ten hours fighting Dundalk passed once more into English hands.

Tichbourne says "The number of the slain I looked not after; but there was little mercy shown in those times." Bernard, however, who does not usually minimise the enemy's losses, puts the slain at only about 100. As far as one can make out there was no slaughter of women and children, or of unarmed men. But victims of another kind there were. The town was stocked with great stores of provisions, especially turkeys and hens, and about 4,000 of these, says Bernard, were eaten in four days: "if was ordinary at one table to see ten or twenty couple of them in rank and file cut off in an instant."

This was the key-note of the new warfare. Ormonde on his march to relieve Drogheda had orders to prosecute with fire and sword all rebels and traitors and their adherents and abettors in the counties of Dublin and Meath, and to burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy and demolish (as he shall think fit) the places, towns and houses where the rebels, their adherents or abettors are, or have been relieved and harboured, or now or lately usually resident.—(March 3rd, 1641-2.)

The Irish were badly armed; at first largely with staves, scythes and pitchforks: later on we hear from Sir James Turner that they had half pikes, swords and spears or daggers.

1.—The castle was just at the turn where the modern Earl Street joins Park Street. It was on the south side of the latter; a grocer's premises occupy the exact spot at present. The cross wall and gate must have been where the Square is now. The modern Dublin Street and Anne Street correspond to those existing in 1641.

2.—It seems probable that the first had no ammunition for the cannon. They do not appear to have been fired; and they were abandoned to the English.

3.—It would appear from this and other similar incidents that large stones thrown on the assailants were one of the chief means of defence of these medieval towers. Before the invention of cannon they were probably quite effectual.

Being without discipline they could not be got to stand firm ; and at almost every encounter gave way at the first shock, attempting to save themselves by their swiftness of foot. The leaders, better armed and more resolute, stood their ground, and were slain on the spot, or captured and hanged.

It is remarkable that during the whole course of the war the Irish never learned the tactics which made the Scottish Highlanders and the Wexford pikemen in 1798 so formidable—namely, the system of charging with cold steel on infantry armed with the indifferent firearms of the period. Indeed, when we consider how often in the present war, in spite of the most extraordinary developments in artillery, so many fights have been decided by the bayonet or the bomb at close quarters, we are filled with astonishment at the results achieved by the musketry and primitive artillery of the seventeenth century. At one of the battles of the English civil war a regiment on the side of the Parliament fell flat on the ground, as was the custom, to escape the discharge of the Royal artillery. But they could not be induced to rise again, so great was the terror with which the noise had inspired them.

The County of Louth, now completely at the mercy of the English forces was given up to destruction. When Ormonde marched out from Dublin all who could fled before him. Crichton describes the arrival of the fugitives where he was held captive in Virginia in Cavan : “ After Dundalk and Trim were taken all the inhabitants of the counties of Dublin, Meath and Louth fled into Cavan with all their goods ; day and night there came through Virginia great droves of cattle of all sorts, great carts laden with trunks and all kinds of good household stuff, great store of wheat and malt. Three or four families made shift with one poor house.”¹

Crichton mentions among the fugitives lodged close by him many of the leading gentry of north county Dublin also “ all the people of Swords.” But in this last detail he is not correct, if we are to believe the Irish account that fifteen of the inhabitants of Swords who never bore arms were hanged in the orchard of Malahide, and a woman bemoaning her husband was hanged amongst them.²

One had thought that such scenes of wholesale flight before an enemy were things of the past. But our own age has seen them renewed. According to a recent note in the *Times* at least five hundred thousand persons out of a total population of eight hundred thousand fled from Courland into the interior of Russia when the German armies occupied that province.

As to those Irish who, on the approach of the English forces, were unwilling or unable to leave their homes—the sick, the aged, the bed-ridden, less fortunate than the inhabitants of Courland, too often they fell to the rage of the soldiery. Many of these last had escaped with difficulty from Ulster ; others were from England filled with a religious hatred of the Irish.³ It must be remembered that the district from Dublin to Dundalk was inhabited by a population largely English by descent. There was not in this district one single landowner of old Irish blood. The land, too, had enjoyed a long peace, and was richly tilled and full of fine country seats. The orders of the Government were explicit : all was to be destroyed by fire and sword. Not only were all rebels to be destroyed,⁴ but in all places where the

1.—His account is printed in Gilbert's *Contemporary History of affairs in Ireland*.

2.—Printed in the appendix to Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion in Ireland*, and also in Curry's *Civil Wars*. The event is dated as about March, 1641-42.

3.—“ The Simple Cobbler of Aggavam,” after a long tirade against “ the truculent cut-throats ” of Ireland, goes on : “ Happy is he who shall reward them as they have served us ; and cursed is he who shall do the work of the Lord negligently. Cursed be he who holdeth back his sword from blood ; yea, cursed be he that maketh not his sword stark drunk with Irish blood, that maketh them not heaps on heaps, and their country a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment to nations.” This was published in 1647.

4.—Instructions to Ormonde to burn, spoil and destroy the rebels of the Pale, without excepting of any—March 9th, 1641-42.

rebels had been harboured all males capable of bearing arms were to be put to death.¹

A story is told that one of the commanders told off for this work asked the Lord Justice, Parsons, whether women and children were to be slain. Parsons was standing beside a table, and indicating its height said that all higher than the table were to be killed.² But this captain was rather a scrupulous man: Most of the commanders did not trouble about such fine distinctions, but slew men, women and children without distinction.³

It would appear from Dean Bernard that the garrison of Drogheda abstained, at least at first, from this indiscriminate slaughter.⁴ But, in spite of this, there is ample evidence of the sufferings of the people in Louth. The poorer sort were, as usually happens, the chief sufferers. And it must be remembered that as regards the counties of the Pale, the farming class, at any rate, appear to have had little share in the rising.⁵ It was the great men who took up arms and their tenants and labourers had to follow them whether they liked it or not. This goes far towards explaining the very poor fight which the Palesmen put up on all occasions against the Government troops.

In Ulster the mass of the people had real grievances; they had been robbed of their lands, and were oppressed in other ways. But as regards the farmers and labourers of the Pale, the years from 1603 to 1641 were probably the most prosperous they had ever experienced before or since. The land was at peace; there was a great inflow of capital; food was more abundant; wages higher than at any previous time. One grievance they had: the public exercise of their religion was proscribed, and they were liable to fines for non-attendance at church and to various exactions as regards marriages, funerals, etc., from the clergy of the established church. But the fines under Charles I were probably not very regularly collected, and the payments to the clergy, though vexatious, were not enough to drive men to armed resistance. With the landowners and great men the case was different. They had real grievances, which were fast rendering their position intolerable; they were encouraged by the example of the Scots; and being conversant with affairs in England they feared the growing power of the Puritans there, and, above all, were terrified by the constant demands of that faction for the complete extirpation of Catholicism in the Three Kingdoms.⁶

Once the Ulster rising began they were still further terrified and exasperated

1.—Instructions to Ormonde, Feb. 23rd, 1641-42: "to kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting capable of bearing arms."

2.—Gilbert: *Irish Confederation and War* (Belling's), Vol. I, p. 110.

3.—But the officers and soldiers took little care to distinguish between rebels and subjects, but killed in many places, promiscuously, men, women and children."—(Castlehaven; *Memoirs*).

4.—At least he does not mention specifically that women and children were killed. But he speaks of 150 rebels killed in a wood without any loss to the English, which suggests a massacre of unarmed people.

5.—The first disorders of the Pale were caused by the poorer classes, labourers, etc., who began to plunder. Then followed outrages by the soldiers of the Dublin garrison. Then, the Ulster rebels having overrun Louth and parts of Meath, many of the younger sons of the gentry joined. The Lords of the Pale did not break with the Government until after six weeks from the first Ulster outbreak. There is evidence that they had difficulty in getting their tenants to follow them.

6.—Constant use was made of a saying that a Scotch army was to be sent to Ireland with the sword and Bible in hand against the Catholics. The actual terms of the Solemn League and Covenant gave colour to this.

by the conduct of the Lords Justices, and the atrocities of Sir Charles Coote. The lords and gentry of the Pale joined the insurgents, and dragged with them their unfortunate tenantry, upon whom then fell the full fury of the soldiery. Some examples of what that meant in the County Louth follow.

1642—Under date April 27th, 1642 :—

“ Sir Henry Tichbourne sallied out of Dundalk with two hundred musquettiers and a hundred horse besides pikemen, came to a little wood, called Babe’s Wood, and perceiving some rebels to be therein, encompassed it with his horse and pikes, and sent in the musquettiers, who killed many of them in the wood ; some like black-birds got up into trees were there shot and killed, the rest that fled out were most of them killed by the horse : they killed within and without the wood above a hundred and fifty.”¹

“ There is one Captaine Vaughan commanding a troop of horse, who is garrisoned in Dundalk ; he with forty musquettiers and his horse did this last week go forth in the night to scout and pillage abroad ; being about three miles from Dundalk he met an Irishwoman, whom he threatened to kill if she told him not whence she came ; she promised, so her life were spared, to do good service, and enformed him that about seven miles thence there was a very strong castle wherein were 300 men well provided, and the place well stored with pillage ; and that constantly about one hour before day the chiefest man among them went out to his devotions in a close adjoining to the castle, having the keys of the castle about him. The Captain laid for him, and found it to be according to his intelligence ; he suddenly laid hold on the man, whom having made sure, he opened the castle gate, and with his musquettiers entered, where the rebels being surprised, they were all put to the sword, not one of ours being lost.”²

One is tempted to identify this last exploit with the massacre of the congregation in Dunmahon Castle by Townley and the garrison of Dundalk, of which Mr. Henry Morris gave the two traditional versions and the Irish Lament in the 1906 Journal of the Louth Archæological Society.

That there is a foundation in fact for these legends of a massacre at Dunmahon appears from the “ Collections of some of the Massacres and Murders committed on the Irish in Ireland since the 23rd of October, 1641,” published in London in 1662.

Amongst the atrocities set out in Co. Louth we find :—“ About the same time (March, 1641-42) Captain Charles Townley and Lieutenant Faithful Townley, with a party of the English army and garrison of Dundalke, slaughtered at Dunmoghagh two hundred and twenty Inhabitants of several Villages, commanded by the officers of the said army to live in that place for their greater security.”

It is to be observed that the date, March 14th, 1641-42, given by the Gaelic poem is quite impossible, for at that date the English had no forces north of Drogheda.

Then as to the association with Cromwell, that also is unlikely. Version No. 2 of the legend agrees with the Gaelic poem in putting the massacre in 1641 when Cromwell was still an obscure country gentleman. According to version No. 1 it took place in 1649, contrary to all that we know of recorded history.

But version No. 2 gives us a clue. It mentions an agreement for protection between the Lord Baron of Louth and Cromwell. And the account published in 1662, and quoted above, says that the people massacred had been ordered to “ live in that place for their greater security ”—i.e., that they were under protection.

1.—*Passages in Ireland, 1642.—Cont. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 426.

2.—Hugh Culme’s letter to his brother, Aug. 4th, 1642.—*Cont. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 519.

Cromwell's name is only dragged in the way usual to popular legend, which fastens on to one well-known name the actions of many minor characters.

The massacre, then, happened some time after March, 1641-42. But is it the same event as that described by Culme? Certain details correspond: the betrayal by a woman; the piety of the owner of the castle; the surprise and massacre.

But there are difficulties. Can we believe that in July, 1642, any castle between Dundalk and Drogheda was held by the Irish. Then Culme attributes the whole merit of the exploit to Vaughan, who apparently only learnt by chance of the castle and the opportunities it afforded. And finally there is the distance. Culme says the castle was about 7 miles from Dundalk—that is, from 10 to 14 of our counting. Now Dunmahon is very much nearer, 5 miles off at the outside.

So the probability is that, unless Culme is entirely wrong as to date and distance, he is speaking of quite another exploit of the garrison of Dundalk.¹

It is to be noted that all four versions of the massacre at Dunmahon attribute it to Charles Townley. Other feats of a namesake of his are thus recorded:—

“One Anthony Townely hanged Mr. Dromgole of Dromgoolestowne at his own gate; the said Townely hanged upward of thirty poor men and women, going to the markets of Dundalke and Tredath, on a Tree comonly called eight mile Bush mid-way between the said Towns.”

Other massacres are stated to have taken place—three hundred poor people, men, women and children in the wood of Derver, in February, 1641-42; about three hundred farmers and labourers never in arms with their wives and children in Redmoore of Braganstowne early in March, 1641-42. Both these dates, however, are obviously wrong, so we may hope that the facts are wrong also.² One hundred and sixty men, women and children of the inhabitants of Termonfechin killed and burned in the furze in 1642; no less than ten thousand massacred in the county.

As a matter of fact, the census taken about 1659 gives the whole surviving population of the county at that date as 8,085,³ besides 1,605 in the county of the town of Drogheda.

We know that after the Scots under Monroe had taken Newry a party sent out into the mountains killed in one day “about 40 men and more and manie women and children (in all some say 500, some say 700).” “The rebels made no fight at all. They had not any powder in that place.”⁴

A further testimony as to the kind of warfare waged is to be found both in Dean Bernard's relation and in Tichbourne's letter. “By the death of so many men about us, having their houses and all their provision either burnt or drawn hither, the dogs only surviving, are found very usually feeding upon their masters, which taste of man's flesh made it very dangerous for the passengers in the roads, who have been often set upon by those mastives, till we were as careful to kill them also.”⁵

1.—Possibly it may have been the castle of Reaghstown, where about two hundred persons were killed after quarter given; according to the List above cited. Tichbourne mentions slaughter “at the taking in of Henry O'Neill's castle of the Fews.” But O'Neill himself proved “innocence” before the Cromwellian Court of Claims, and so can hardly have been in the castle taken by Vaughan. Culme, however, does not speak of the owner, but of the “chiefest man among them.”

2.—This collection of massacres, etc., condemns itself in many instances, either by giving impossible dates, or making statements which from other sources we know are incorrect.

3.—Of these 837 were English. But the Rev. Mr. Leslie has given reasons for holding that these figures are not reliable. It is quite impossible to believe—eg., that the total British population of Ulster in 1659 was only about 40,000.

4.—Fitzpatrick: *Bloody Bridge*. From Carte this would appear to have been in July, 1642.

5.—Bernard. He further says: “Many who were taken prisoners, were so desperate, that being threatened to be hanged, made such haste, that they took ropes and hung themselves or being upon the ladder, threw themselves off.”

And Tichborne tells us that neither man nor beast was to be found between Drogheda and Dundalk, nor beyond Dundalk until one came to Carrickmacross.

The element of sport entered into these proceedings. A commander in Co. Cork, Captain Mureland, compares some hours hunting down of rebels in a bog to duck shooting. The raids from Dublin were called "birdings." And there is a well-known tale that Sir Charles Coote, seeing an infant transfixd on a soldier's pike, declared that "he liked such frolics."¹

But the very savagery of this warfare defeated itself. The Irish, convinced that their extermination was resolved on, joined more and more in the rising. Officers began to flock home from the Continent; often bringing with them stores of arms and munitions. They began to give some training in discipline to the raw Irish levies. Nevertheless it would have gone hard with the Irish had not the growing tension between King and Parliament in England afforded a respite. Arms and money collected for the Royal forces in Ireland were seized by the Parliament and ultimately used against the King.

When the rebellion in England broke out in August, 1642, the insurgent Irish, who had always put loyalty to the King in the forefront of their motives, began to aim at a reconciliation. They had not taken up arms, they said, against the King, but against his oppressive governors in Ireland, largely belonging to that same party of sectaries which was now in arms against him in England. The King, on his side, was anxious for an accommodation. Accordingly, after many obstacles put in the way by the Lords Justices, Parsons and Borlase, and other unscrupulous and disloyal officials in Dublin, a cessation of arms, preliminary to a general peace, was agreed to on both sides on September 15th, 1643.

For some years after this Louth had a respite from the horrors of war; but not altogether a complete one. The cessation had left the coast-line from Newry and Carlingford south to Dublin in possession of the Protestant Royalists under the command of the Marquis of Ormond. But the Scots in the north and some of the English garrisons in Ulster refused to recognise his authority, or to observe the cessation. They continued the war upon the Ulster Irish, who for a time could do little against them. Hence sometimes fugitives from the Irish quarters came into Louth with their flocks and herds, causing great friction with the English commanders, and no doubt doing considerable damage to the country.²

In 1647 there came a change of affairs. Ormond, acting on the directions of Charles I, that if hard pressed, he was to surrender the fortresses in his possession to his English rather than to his Irish rebels, and being unable either to come to terms with the Confederate Irish or to resist them successfully, handed over Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk and all other garrisons held by him to Colonel Michael Jones, whom the Parliament had sent to Ireland with a considerable force.

July, 1647—Ormonde left the country, and soon afterwards withdrew to France.

For the next year the fortunes of war turned steadily against the Confederate Irish. In England Charles was a close prisoner, and with the rise to power of Cromwell and the Independents all chance of an accommodation between him and the English rebels vanished. The result was, that, in Ireland, loyalists of all parties and creeds were drawn together. Inchiquin declared against the Parliament; Ormonde returned from France and was welcomed to Kilkenny. Finally on Jan.

1.—I had such sport that duck-huntinge was nothing to itt, we killed in three howers twenty of them—(*Lismore Papers*: quoted by Lady Burghclere in *Life of Ormonde*).

2.—See Owen Roe O'Neill's letter to Ormonde, June, 1644—*Affairs in Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 558. Also Tichbourne for the encampment of the Scots at Ardee in 1644, and of Owen Roe's army following them.

17th, 1649, peace was made between the Protestant Royalists on one side and the vast majority of the Catholics on the other side. But O'Neill and the Ulster Irish refused to accede to it.

The execution of the King, a few days after peace had been proclaimed, at once strengthened the royalist position. The Ulster Scots and even many of the English in Ulster came over to the Royalist side. But now, by a strange turn of affairs, we find the Ulster Irish, the original contrivers of the whole rising, the most strenuous supporters of the extreme Catholic party, in a most unnatural alliance with the few remaining supporters of the Parliament among the Protestant forces in Ireland.

We need not go into the details of the negotiations between Owen Roe O'Neill and Coote and Monk, nor enquire how far these latter were sincere in them. It is merely necessary to mention them as far as they affected County Louth.

In May, 1649, O'Neill and Monk agreed to a cessation of hostilities. Ormonde at the head of the largest and best equipped army yet seen in Ireland, composed of English and Irish, Catholics and Protestants, was advancing against the rebel garrisons in Leinster. Finding Dublin too strong to be taken by assault, he detached Inchiquin to reduce the coast-line to the north. Some of the Puritan cavalry sent from Dublin to Drogheda was intercepted and cut up. Towards the end of June Inchiquin appeared before Drogheda. A first assault was repulsed with loss; but when cannon was brought up the town capitulated (June 28th, 1649). Some of the garrison withdrew to Dublin; but by far the greater number took service with the Royalists. In the meantime Monk had agreed to give O'Neill a supply of powder, which he greatly needed. O'Neill came to within seven miles of Dundalk, and sent five hundred, or according to other accounts twelve hundred men to bring him the powder. Inchiquin sent Colonel Trevor, a skilled cavalry leader, to intercept the convoy. The Irish got drunk in Dundalk, and on their return were surprised and cut to pieces. Only about thirty men escaped.

This was the most serious reverse suffered by Owen Roe O'Neill, and it is lamentable to think that it was inflicted on him by his fellow Royalists. One can imagine the secret delight of the wily Puritan Monk at seeing his enemies thus destroying one another. However, his men were less versed in deep policy than he, and were furious at his negotiations with those whom they termed the blood-thirsty Irish. As soon as Inchiquin appeared before Dundalk they insisted on surrendering. The lesser garrisons as far as Newry followed suit. Only Dublin and Derry remained in the hands of the Parliament.

Up to June 28th, 1649, Drogheda since the commencement of the rising had remained in Protestant hands. The new occupiers, largely Inchiquin's old Munster troops, were for the greater part Protestant. This has an important bearing on subsequent events.

On August 2nd Ormonde and the Royalists were utterly routed by Jones at Rathmines. Immediately afterwards the victor attempted to reduce Drogheda. It was defended by Lord Moore; and Ormonde hastening to Trim, compelled Jones to retire to Dublin.

On August 15th, Cromwell landed in Dublin. On Monday, September 3rd, he appeared with his forces before Drogheda, and after eight days siege gained admission to the town on the evening of the 11th. What followed is one of the most disputed points in Irish history. I shall first give the one or two facts that are certain; I shall then enumerate the points that are in doubt. First of all we have from Cromwell himself the fact, amply confirmed by all contemporary evidence, that of the garrison, nearly 3,000 strong, hardly a man escaped. The majority perished; a few were sent to slavery to the West Indies; a very few preserved life

and liberty. Secondly, it is certain that during the whole eight years of conflict Drogheda had never been in the hands of any party to whom the name Irish rebels could have been given. From 1641 to 1647 it had been held by a Protestant royalist garrison of Ormonde's party. Then from 1647 to June 28, 1649, it had been held by the Protestant Jones—a partisan of the English Parliament; and at this latter date it had surrendered to the Protestant Inchiquin, acting under the orders of Ormonde, the King's Lord Lieutenant. But now we come to a mass of questions to none of which a perfectly satisfactory answer has been given, or perhaps ever can be given.

What were the nationality and the religion of the garrison? What were the nationality and religion of the townsmen? Were these massacred? If so, did the massacre extend to the women and children? And, above all, are there any difficulties in Cromwell's account of what took place? Are we to believe that the events which he relates occurred in the darkness of the night during the heat of the assault; or can we assume a cold blooded slaughter of unarmed men carried on for five days, as Ormonde puts it, or for, at anyrate, two or three, as others relate?

To try to answer some, at least, of these queries—The garrison was certainly a mixed one of English and Irish Protestants and Catholics. Using the terminology of the period I include as English those Protestants who had settled in the country since the accession of Elizabeth.

The Governor, Sir Charles Aston, was an English Catholic; under him we find Sir Edmund Verney, son of the King's Standard Bearer at Edgehill; Colonel Boyle, son of a Protestant Archbishop of Tuam and brother of a Protestant Archbishop of Armagh; Major Wilkins, Major Tempest—unmistakable English names; besides other officers—Croker, Beuss, Fisher, Street, Gray, of whom the same may be said. Doubtful are Colens, Wall and Warren and an officer Cooley.

Colonel Warren was probably of the old County Louth Anglo-Norman family which was seated at Warrenstown now Dillonstown, Dunleer. Cooley may have been of the Co. Louth stock to which belonged Garret Cooley, Portreeve of Ardee in 1641-2.

Sir Edmund Verney commanded 400 men of Ormonde's own regiment, who are almost certain to have been Protestant Royalists.

The force to which Drogheda had surrendered in June had been under Inchiquin, and we must suppose had been largely composed of the Munster forces, which almost since the outbreak of the war he had led against the Irish. Some of these very probably now formed part of the garrison. Then, many of Jones's men had taken service under Inchiquin, and of these there may have been some also left among the garrison. Hence there must have been quite a considerable number of English Protestants in the royal army. The majority of the garrison, however, were no doubt Leinster and Munster Irish Catholics; but it does not seem possible to determine the exact proportion.

Thus, when Cromwell wrote of his having executed "a righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood" he was very wide of the mark. It is not likely that among the garrison or townsmen there was a single individual who had had any part in the original Ulster rising. But it is almost certain that among those who fell under the swords of his troopers there were some of the men who under Inchiquin two years before had turned the great Cathedral of Cashel into a shambles; it is probable that among them were some of those who had in the bog at Dungan's Hill slaughtered in cold blood three thousand unresisting Leinster infantry; it is even possible that among them were some of those who had taken part more than seven years earlier in those proceedings at Babe's Wood and at Dunmahon, which I have already described.

Next as to the townsmen. Drogheda, like the other sea-coast towns, was inhabited by a population of English or Scandinavian origin. No doubt as years went on there was an inflow of Irish from the country districts. But up to the time of James I the two nations were kept apart by law, and there is ample proof as regards all these towns that the upper classes at least of the citizens, looked on themselves as, and nearly were, "mere Englishmen." In common with the rest of the towns the vast majority of the citizens adhered to the old religion. But there were in 1641 many Protestant inhabitants—some, natives of the country, others recent settlers. Dean Bernard tells us that these Protestants were able to muster 120 or even 140 armed men in November, 1641. No doubt many of these were refugees from the country districts; but as a set off to this he tells us that many of his richer parishioners had fled to Dublin. So we might estimate a Protestant population in 1641 of six or seven hundred souls. In the interval this would have increased. Drogheda offered a safe residence; it was an important base of operations, and must have attracted numbers of English traders; it had had a large Protestant garrison. We know that there were Protestant ladies of high position there; for they troubled Ormonde and Aston greatly by their plots to betray the town, first to Jones, then to Cromwell. As to the Catholic population I do not know that we have any means of estimating their numbers.

Dean Bernard speaks of "two half standing companies," a town militia apparently. He is a most obscure writer; but seems to imply that these were all or nearly all Catholics, and that in addition they "pressed the town to a show of two hundred men." He also says that on muster days, before the rising, the townsmen were wont to appear in many hundreds well armed. Whatever their numbers in 1641 I think there can be little doubt that they had decreased between that date and 1649. Bernard mentions the expulsion of many suspected persons. These would no doubt chiefly be younger men, capable of bearing arms. At the Cessation of 1643 those who wished had liberty to return. But when Jones took over the Leinster garrisons from the Royalists in 1647 we know that he expelled many of the Catholic inhabitants from Dublin. It is possible that he may have done so from Drogheda also; and if so it is not likely that, in the short time which had elapsed since the town again had passed into Royalist hands, many of them should have returned.

Now what was the fate of these townsmen? It seems certain that all who bore arms were slain. But did the townsmen bear arms, and in what proportion? The Protestants must, in the whole period up to June 28th, 1649, have maintained their drill and efficiency. When the town surrendered on that date to the Royal forces, no doubt some of the ardent republicans withdrew to Dublin with the regular forces. But of those who stayed on I can see no reason to doubt that a large number at least would have been royalists, and as such would have welcomed Ormonde's authority and borne arms in its defence. As regards the Catholic townsmen the case is more doubtful. At the time of the first siege in 1641-42 we know from Dean Bernard that as the strength of the English garrison increased steps were taken to disarm the Catholics. After the Cessation they may have been again allowed the use of arms; but when the Puritans got possession in 1647 it was most unlikely that any Catholics should have been allowed to perform any military exercises. When Aston took over command in 1649 he no doubt attempted to arm and drill as many men as possible; but in the short time at his disposal he cannot have effected much. Various contemporary accounts, however, imply that some, at least, of the townsmen took part in the defence; and we may, I think, conclude that these included members of both religions.

We now come to the most controversial point of all—was there a massacre of non-combatants, including women and children? Closely bound up with this is

the further question—how far is Cromwell's official account reliable, and what are the difficulties in the way of accepting it?

I shall first give a summary of what Cromwell says. The assault began about 5 p.m. on Tuesday, September 11th—a time of the year when the sun sets at Drogheda about 6.30 or 6.40 p.m., Irish time. One assault was beaten off; the second succeeded, but only after hard fighting, and evidently took up some considerable time.¹ Ultimately the Irish fled. Aston and many of the chief officers retreated to the Millmount, where they were cut off from the rest of their forces. Then, in Cromwell's own words, "our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And, indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town; and I think that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men."

But what about the rest of the garrison who had not got up to the Millmount. Cromwell says: "Divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about a hundred of them possessed St. Peter's church-steeple, some the West Gate, others a strong round-tower next the gate called St. Sunday's."

But later on in the same letter he gives as an example of the wickedness of the Irish, that the very Sunday before the storm "these people" had turned the Protestants out of St. Peter's Church, and had celebrated Mass there (all the churches had of course continued in Protestant hands from 1641 to June, 1649, and apparently after that date also) and that now as a judgment on them "in this very place near a thousand of them flying for refuge there were put to the sword."

Now the whole of Cromwell's story is both obscure, from the moment when the breach was finally won, and is full of difficulties. How were 2,000 soldiers slain that night when they might easily have escaped into the country, for the north side of the town was not closely beset by the enemy. Were the 2,000 slain south of the river, and did only "divers" escape to the north side; and who were the 1,000 slain near St. Peter's Church? How was it that though there was fierce fighting at the breach there was nothing but plain butchery in the town—that is, judging from Cromwell's own account of the smallness of his losses.

But it is when we come to other accounts that we see further difficulties. Bates says of the Millmount that some of the assailants got up not without assistance from some of those inside. Another account declares that Lieutenant-Colonel Axtell, with some twelve of his men, went to the top of the mount, and demanded of the Governor the surrender of it, who was very stubborn, speaking high words; but at length was persuaded to go into the windmill at the top of the mount, and as many of the chiefest as it could contain, where they were disarmed and afterwards slain.

Furthermore, Ludlow gives a more credible account of why the bridge was not defended. He declares that the enemy's foot being abandoned by their horse began to break and shift for themselves, and that the English followed them so close that they overtook them at the bridge, so that they were unable to lift the drawbridge.² It would appear from him that this was before the Millmount and other works on the south side were finally taken. He also says that the slaughter went on all that

1.—Royalist accounts say that two assaults were repulsed. Most of the documents cited are to be found in *Cont. Hist.*, Vol. II.

2.—Which ours perceiving followed them so close that they overtook them at the bridge which lay across the river . . . and preventing them from drawing up the bridge entered pell-mell with them into the place when they put all they met with to the sword."—(*Ludlow*).

day and the next. And when another account mentions that 2,000 were put to the sword, it would appear as if this happened on the north side.¹

If we come now to Royalist writers we get a little more light. According to Carte, the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army promised quarter to such as would lay down their arms, and performed it as long as the place held out, which encouraged others to yield; but when they had them once all in their power, and feared no hurt that could be done them, Cromwell being told by Jones that he now had all the flower of the Irish army in his hands, gave orders that no quarter should be given, so that his soldiers were forced, many of them against their will, to kill their prisoners.

Clarendon says: "A panic fear possessed the soldiers that they threw down their arms, upon a general offer of quarter; so that the enemy entered the works without resistance, and put every man, governor, officer and soldier to the sword; and the whole army being entered the town they executed all manner of cruelty and put every man that related to the garrison, and all the citizens who were Irish, man, woman, and child to the sword."²

Ormonde speaks of "the cruelties exercised there for five days after the town had fallen," and states that Verney, Warren, Wall and Byrne were all killed in cold blood.

Bates, after describing the flight of the garrison, goes on, "neither the gown nor the dwelling-house offered any protection, nor was there any great respect had to either sex. The soldiers continued for three days in cruelly slaying the towns-people that had carried arms, whom they dragged out of their lurking holes . . . nay, and those also who after the third day came creeping out of their hiding places were most inhumanly put to death."

The "Officer of Sir John Clotworthy's Regiment" says: "But [the Irish] being overpowered, were all hewed down in their ranks, and no quarter given for twenty-four hours to man, woman, or child; so that not a dozen escaped out of the town of town's people or soldiers."

And, to return to Cromwell, at the end of a letter to Lenthall on some subsequent operations he adds a list of those slain at Drogheda—2,500 foot soldiers, besides staff-officers chyrurgeons and many inhabitants.

What is to be made of all this tangle? Mr. J. B. Willams in some articles contributed to the *Nineteenth Century*³ gives some highly technical arguments from dates, and from references to London publications of the period to reject the main points in Cromwell's version; and holds that the massacre was carried out in cold blood, after all resistance had ceased.

There is no doubt that Verney and some other officers were killed when the general slaughter was over. Clarendon's version that the men, women and children *who were Irish* were all slain is inconsistent with a slaughter carried out in the heat of an assault, and in the darkness of night. To Clarendon, Irish and Catholic, English and Protestant were synonymous; and are we so suppose that soldiers in the heat of action would or could have massacred on strictly theological lines?

If we can believe the biographer of Archbishop Usher, Dean Bernard himself owed his life to Cromwell. This would imply that religion and constant activity in the English interest were no security against the soldiers.

What really happened can probably never be accurately reconstituted; but

1.—This account is cited in Murphy: *Cromwell in Ireland*.

2.—Clarendon: Book XII.

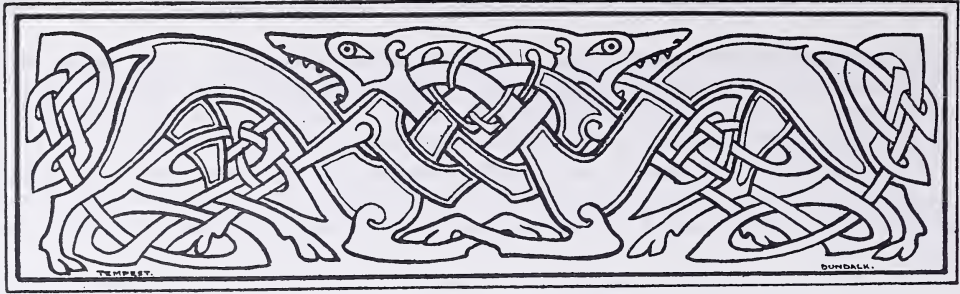
3.—In the *Nineteenth Century*, Sept., 1912, and following numbers.

I think we may safely assume that of the townsmen those who bore arms were massacred, and that, to a certain extent at least, women and children shared the fate of the men. And I do not think there is any reason to suppose that either nationality or religious belief was of much protection from the fury of the soldiery.

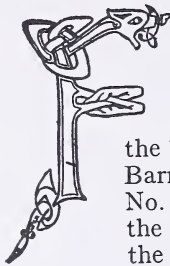
The capture of Drogheda was quickly followed by the evacuation of Dundalk by the Royalists. Carlingford was attacked by sea and capitulated after a few cannon shots. This ended the war as far as concerned the County Louth.

W. F. BUTLER.





Barnesvave and Barr Meava.



FOR visitors to Cooley a summary of the accounts of those two features of the Kingdom should prove of interest. "Enda" recalled the name of Barnesvave, as heard by him in Carlingford ages ago, applied to the great gap in the mountain over Bush station. He asked could this be the Gap of Ulad mentioned in the Táin as cut in the mountain by Queen Meave, and inquired was Barnesvave a natural or an artificial gap. Mr. Morris answered in No. 2, A.D. 1905, that Barnesvave is undoubtedly a natural cleft in the mountain, and therefore spite its name—Gap of Meave—cannot be the road cut in the mountain by the redoubtable soldier-queen. Mr. Morris shows how gigantic is the gap. "It is about 80 yards wide and has rock walls on either side rising to a height of over 30 feet."

Mr. H. G. Tempest, in the same number, gives an interesting account of Barnesvave from Dr. Trail's Geological Memoir. Dr. Trail writes:—"At the northern summit of Barnavave, 1,142 feet, the rocks are greatly interpenetrated and are of special interest. Near the highest point a wide trench occurs—the Gap of Barnesvave—along which the main fault, which appears on the west side of Carlingford Mountain, is supposed to be continued." Dr. Trail describes the whole range from Windy Gap to the Bush. He writes:—"Separated from Carlingford mountains by an elevated col (neck) 1,000 feet high rises Barnavave, 1,142 feet extending in a narrow ridge due southwards."

In No. 3, A.D. 1906, "Enda" has a note on the matter. He contends, that the fact of its being a natural feature does not preclude the idea of its being attributed to Maeve in the Táin and called the Gap of Ulad—i.e., the disgrace of Ulad for ever, as being the gigantic memorial of Ulad's defeat inscribed everlastingly on the very mountain's face, by the victor. He said the Táin is a poem, or a fairy tale, with a dash of fact, and that the poet did show considerable power, by seizing on the great features of Louth, and making them the scenes of incidents in the tale. So to attribute this mighty volcanic gap to Maeve was a poetic licence worthy of the writer and his subject. This seems confirmed by Miss Faraday's version, where the "Gap of Ulad" is called "Bernas Bo Cuailgne." Maeve refused to march on the low ground. "She preferred to go across the mountain that their track might be an insult to the Ulstermen"—(Faraday's version).

So Barnesvave seems to hold the field, as no other gap in the Louth mountains can be made to fit in with the narration in the Táin. A different wing of the army went seemingly through Windy Gap. Then it bears the name of Connaught's Queen to this day; and surely it is *the* Gap of Cooley! Maeve went through the Gap of Ulad from "Findabhair Cuailgne." Is there such a name as "Fennor"

still there? Some confusion has been introduced by the country people calling the gap on some occasion "Barr Neava." But there is no doubt that Barnesvave is its name. "Barr" could not possibly be applied to a gap; but Barr Naeva might be applied to the mountain top in memory of the solitaries supposed to have dwelt in the bee-hive huts, whose foundations, it is said, can still be traced above the gap. *Ḃarr na Naemh* = the hilltop of the saints.

The classic Cuailgne—that of the Táin—was confined to the Louth mountain district. Faughain—Tipping's Mount—is stated distinctly in the Táin to have been in Conaille, which excludes Bellurgan from Cuailgne, and seems to include "The Lordship of Mellifont" in the Kingdom.

In the Louth Ordnance Letters the following extract is given from the annals:

"A.M. 3500: Cuailgne, one of the Milésian chiefs was killed by the Tuatha de Danans, on a mountain in Ulster, which was called Slieve Cuailgne from him." O'Donovan adds—"His cairn is still (1836) in the mountain." Is there a Cairn Cuailgne on the mountain still? The great battles of the Táin in Louth were fought in Bellurgan and Faughart. Perhaps not one in Cuailgne proper.¹

1. A passage in the JOURNAL of 1914, p. 214, deserves attention:—"Many writers have tried to show that Maeve entered Omeath by way of Barnevave, the elevated gap between Sliabh Foy and the mountains back of Omeath, and that many of the Tain place-names are to be sought for in this remote territory. Their attempts, however, are based on worthless translations of the Tain. The attempted etymology of Barneveve (more correctly Barr-neava) is impossible." No proofs or authority are vouchsafed for all these statements, so we had better, in order to understand the question of Barnesvave, hark back to its discussion in former numbers.

In the first number of JOURNAL Enda gave Barnesvave on local authority in Carlingford as the name of the notable gap in the face of the mountain overlooking Bush station, and attempted to identify it with the Gap of Ulad. Now, it may be news to tell, that Barnesvave is not mentioned in the Tain even in "worthless translations" by O'Daly, O'Looney, Faraday, Dunn or others! It is a purely local designation. In number II JOURNAL, p. 92, Mr. Morris applies the name to the same gap, but denies it is the "Gap of Ulad" of the Tain. On the same page Mr. H. G. Tempest quotes "Memoir of the Geological Survey," saying: "Near the highest point a wide trench occurs called the Gap of Barnevave." This puts the name out of all dispute. So in number III JOURNAL, p. 95, Enda sums up, and states that now the people in the locality call the place Barr-Neava. He is careful to explain that Barr-Neava is not the true name of the gap, but "seems to mean 'the mountain tops of the saints,'" perhaps in memory of those who occupied the circular huts whose remains are scattered just above the gap." There is no reason for confusing Barnesvave and Barr-Neava. the former correctly designating the gap and the latter the mountain top above it. It is easy for country people, ignorant of Irish, to confuse them, but it requires very little knowledge of Irish derivations to distinguish them. The difficulty is to confound Bearnas = a gap with Barr = a top. Such etymology is indeed impossible. "The elevated gap between Sliabh Foy and the mountains back of Omeath," really a plateau miles in extent, was never designated "Bearnas," and if possible still less "Barr" since the "plutonic activity" of the geologists upheaved Bearnasvave.

The Memoir of the Geological Survey describes the mountains from Windy Gap to Slieve Foy as follows:—"This ridge is continued to Barnavave, 1,142 feet and further southward to the summit marked on the map 1,022 feet." Again: "Separated from Carlingford mountain by an elevated col 1,000 feet high, rises Barnavave 1,142 feet extending in a narrow ridge due southwards." "Near the highest point a wide trench occurs called the Gap of Barnasvave." All this, written by Dr. Trail about fifty years ago, leaves no doubt that Bearnasvave is the mountain over Bush station, having got its name from the "Gap."

ENDA.



Poets of Kilkerley and Neighbourhood.

Continuation from p. 198, No. 2, Vol. IV.

By Rev. L. O MURRAY, C.C.

IV.

THE MACALINDEN OF LINDEN FAMILY.

Concerning Patrick MacAlinden, Henry Morris writes as follows in his *Céad ve Ceoltauib Uladh* :—

Not much is known as to where MacAlinden belonged. O Reilly says that he hailed from the Fews (Co. Armagh), but this is vague and probably incorrect. There are no MacAlindens in the Fews to-day, while they are plentiful in Co. Down, around Hilltown, Rathfriland and Mayobridge.

Mr. Morris seems to have modified these views, for in his notes to the poem *ráite maígríctí 16 pluinneac* in No. 4, Vol. III of this Journal (1915) he wrote as follows :—

The writer of the poem was Mary, daughter of Patrick MacAlinden, one of the best known of the South Ulster poets. It should be stated that some MSS. refer to Mary as the sister of Patrick MacAlinden. The present poem, however, is taken from a MS. in my possession, written by Dr. James Woods of Dundalk in 1821. . . . O Kearney tells us that James Woods was born at Lough Ross near Crossmaglen about 1758 Now, a man who was born near Crossmaglen in 1758, and who himself became an enthusiastic Irish scribe and poet, would not be likely to have incorrect information regarding the identity of Mary MacAlinden, so that O Kearney's statement that Mary was 'sister' to Patrick cannot be relied on; first, because he was more than half a century later than Woods, and, second, because he has rather an indifferent reputation for accuracy.

Another most interesting piece of information is given in the last verse of the poem, where the writer states that she was reared, or at anyrate, lived from her youth at Cnoc Cein vic Chainte, now Killen Hill. This is the most exact piece of evidence I have yet come across as to where Patrick MacAlinden lived. His daughter says that she will never part from Cnoc Cein vic Chainte, so that it is a reasonable conclusion that MacAlinden lived there also.

Mr. Morris unintentionally misrepresented Nicholas O Kearney. He overlooked the fact that there were two persons, father and son, of the name of Patrick

MacAlinden, and that both Woods and O Kearney were correct in their statements. The following is taken from one of O Kearney's best manuscripts :—

Siubhan or Judith MacArdle was the name of Patrick MacAlinden's mother ; she was the great-grand-daughter of Turlough an Fhuinn,¹ who was said to have been carried by Gerald Iarla into the hill of Mulla Elim near Ardee where he, with a great number of his cavalry are enchanted. Turlough was father to Benevy² Nic Ardghoill, one of the northern Benshighees. Patrick was therefore a musician and a composer by blood.

Linden was a native of the Fewes of Armagh, bordering on Louth. He was one of the most learned men of the day, and an eminent composer, poet and musician. Patraicc na clairsighe MacAlindoin was the usual name that his countrymen gave him, on account of the superiority of his performance on that instrument.

* * * * *

*Linden was a man of substance, or a gentleman, as a gentleman could exist at that time ; at all events he supported that character to the end of his life, and his Dún was the resort of the Bards of the Province. It was he that kept alive the lingering spirit of poetry, and it was owing to his example that the Fewes, Down and Louth, produced so large a number of truly learned bards and musicians at this and a subsequent period despite the vigilance and exertions of the Tory-hunters of the locality. Frequent Iomarbhagh or Bardic Contentions were held in his house and under his inspection. Owing to the rigour of the penal laws several bards could not commit their compositions to writing, but the learned and patriotic Linden corrected when necessary, and copied them, so that he was usually called *Ῥεαδασοδῖρ na mBáir*. The transcripts that he made show that he was the most skilful prosodian of his time—a branch of bardic learning much neglected then and since in the other provinces as the writings of even their best bards testify. The compositions of Linden were numerous, and many are still extant. They present us with an abundance of wit and learning and smoothness of versification to be sought in vain in the works of any other bard of this age.³*

*Patrick Linden died in April, 1733, in the 68th year of his age leaving a son Patrick the younger, who though a learned man, never came up to his father in knowledge, and one daughter, *Μαελῖς mic Δ Λιονσοῖν*, a young woman of great talent who composed many sweet songs, the most admired being *Coillte Sliara na Tpiuca*, ' Joseph Plunkett, Esq., of Slieve,' *Ῥεαλληρῶ an Læe*, &c.*

Linden's children felt a change of fortune after his death. They were obliged to leave their native sod and take refuge among their relatives in Co. Louth. Patrick Linden, the younger, settled in the condition of a respectable farmer at Carrickleith, among relatives of his wife whose name was MacBride and lived to a good old age. But the writer of this short sketch, though related to old Patrick by both the mothers' line⁴ cannot tell anything further concerning his posterity. The MacArdles of Carrickleith are still famous for their wit and attachment to the traditions and songs of Ireland.

From this quotation it is apparent that there is no discrepancy between the accounts given by Woods and O Kearney. O Kearney lived in practically the next townland to that in which the Lindens lived, and as he was also related to that family, it is scarcely fair to say that "his statement cannot be relied on."

I searched all the parochial records of North Louth that have come down to us from that period, for information concerning this family. I reproduce here the entries that I found. In the record left by Rev. Laurence Taaffe, of dispensations granted by him in his capacity as Vicar-General of the diocese, we have the entry :—

Aug. 8th, 1768. Dispensed the Banns of Michael McSorley of Killevi and Mary Lyndon of Mr. McCoy's.

The Parochial Records of Dundalk, in which parish Killen, Kane, Barronstown and the surrounding townlands were at that time included, are not available before 1790. After that date, we have the following entries concerning the Lyndons:—

Baptismal Records:—

1790. Dec. 18. *Thos., son of Jno. Linden and Margt. Campbell, of Castletown.*
 1793. July 30. *James, son of Jas. Lindon and Anne Kearney, of Newtown.*
 1794. Oct. *Betty Lyndon of Newtown, twice sponsor.*
 1795. Jan. 20. *Mary Linden of Newtown, sponsor.*
 May 12. *Bridget, daughter of Wm. Kelly and Peg Lindon, Newtown.*
 Nov. 14. *Mary, daughter of Jno. Lyndon and Margaret Campbell, Newtown.*
 Aug. 20. *Mary, daughter of Arthur Hughes and Peg McAlindon, Dowdalls' Hill.*

Marriage Records:—

1791. July 23. *John McAlindon to Ally Smith of Knockagh.*
 1793. *Arthur Hughes and Mary Lyndon.*

Burial Records:—

1797. Nov. *Cisly McElendon of Knockagh, buried at Seatown.*

After 1800 they seem to have drifted into the lower end of Dundalk, and "the change of fortune" referred to by O Kearney is also testified to in the Parochial Records. The last entry concerning them was:—

1831. Sep. 12. *Michael and Bridget Linden, children of Patrick Linden and Catherine Garvey. Witnesses—Mary and Patrick Linden, Wrightson's Lane.*

There are references in several of the poems of Linden and of his daughter Mary, which help us in our search for Linden's place of residence. In the dialogue between Linden and Cártaín bán, she addresses him as follows:—

Δ μαρκαῖο ζαοθαλαῖς ο ταοβ Ὀύνη-Θεαῖζνα
 ἱρ τεατρα ζο λέιρ με πέιν ἱρ μο πέαῖβαν.

Mary Linden's poem—*ἱρ δοῖβῖνν Τυλαῖ ἀτυῖνν ἡνιε Κάιντε*, which was written to praise the beauties of Killen Hill has the following verse:—

'Sa τυλαῖ ρῖν ἡνιε Κάιντε ἀρ ἄ ὄταρῖα μέ τρῖε βῖ μέ ὄζ
 ἡῖ ρεαρρῖνν πέιν ζο βρῖε λέιρ ἀν ἀηρ-ἡμας ζῖον ἄ ἡνιεανν βεο
 ἄετ ἄ πέαδῖντ ἀρ ἡα βαρκαῖο ρα ἡαῖβεῖρ ἄς τεαετ ραοῖ πέοῖ
 ἱρ ἔανῖαῖτ βῖννε ῖἀρρῖταῖρ ζαῖ ἀηρ ὀῖὀμ ἄς κανῖο βεοῖῖ.

(*O, Killen Hill, where I happened to be when I was young, while I live I would not desert thy table-lands, but would remain, watching the ships under sail on the ocean, and listening to the birds of paradise singing all around me.*)

In MacVeigh's lament for Linden there are several references that may have a bearing on this subject. Lines 48-51 are—

Ζαῖ 'δον ἡε μαῖτεαρ ἄ ἐλεαῖταῖο ἀν πέιτε
 Ταῖο ἡῖτε ἡαν βυαῖῖρῖτ ραοῖ ζῖυαῖμ ρο'ἡ εαρῖλαμ !
 Τάῖο ραοῖῖῖτε ἀν πέαζα ὄε εαρρῖαῖς ραοῖ ἡευνεαρ
 Ζαν ἄ'ἡ ἡοῖῖῖ ἄ μεαῖῖαῖρ ἡο ἡζρεαῖῖαν ἀῖρ ἀεῖῖοῖρ.

Lines 70-73 :—

Νί ἀρηθίον ἀρη ριζήνα να τρη θέτ ζεαρ-έσοί
 ἀρη μεαρῶ le ζαοίε ζαν ρζίτ ὀο'ν ταοῦ ρί
 ρά'ν Ἐρεαζάν ἄ θιορ ζαδ οιοῦδε εζ εὔζεαοιν
 ρά ccaρῶο ccleib-clí beít ριντε ι cρῆ uaf'.

Lines 95 seq. :—

'Συδ ! ῥάτραιcc, monuar tu beít ρuar ἄ cρῆ uainn
 Ἐρεαρῶιτε 'n uαιζ, 'ρ ζαν ρuarcaite εζ αοη ὀυιτ
 ζαν αιτεαρ ζαν ρuarcaρ ἀρη tuamba ἠίic Ἐαρῶοι.

Such is the evidence upon which we must base our decision concerning Linden's dwelling-place. In the first place I may say that I do not believe that there is a reference in the Grave-Lay that proves anything. I have quoted the lines given above, because in several conversations that I had with Father Donnellan of Crossmaglen, he insisted that these lines proved conclusively that the poet lived at Creggan. He thinks that several of the phrases have been mutilated by the scribes, e.g., that line 50 should be

Ἰνῶ ρίξε ηῖεαζα ὀα εαρῶοῦ ραοί τεἀρηρῶορ ;

and ὀυιτε in line 49 should be ὀυρη (Cille Ἐρεαζάν): Line 72, he would make ρά'ν Ἐρεαζάν ἄ mβιοῦ ἄ θιοῦ ζαδ οιοῦδε εζ εὔζεαοιν, inserting ἄ mβιοῦ before ἄ θιοῦ of the MS. version. Again, instead of ' uaf' of line 73 he would read 'ann.' Some of these changes would improve the assonance, but that is not a sufficient reason for setting aside the MS. text. Two scribes of widely independent viewpoints, MacGahon of Dungooley and O Kearney of Thomastown agree on the version that I have given above, and the fact that certain changes would improve the assonance is not a sufficient reason for making them. The poem does prove conclusively, I think, that Linden was buried in Creggan, but supplies no evidence that his residence was there.⁵

The remainder of the testimony is easily summed up. Mary Linden's poem shows that she lived, while young, in sight of Killen Hill. The entries in the Parochial Records show that, while there were no people of this name in Killen itself, they were numerous in the two adjacent townlands of Knockagh and Newtownbalregan.

Both places are within half a mile from Killen Hill. The entry of Aug. 8th, 1768, concerning "Mary Lyndon of Mr. McCoy's" possibly refers to the poetess, both Knockagh and Newtownbalregan were in Father MacCoy's parish of Lower Dundalk. The remaining quotation from the 'Dialogue'—ἄ ἠαρῶοῦ ζαοῦδαλαίξ ο ταοῦ ὀύν-θεαίξνα almost settles the question in favour of Newtownbalregan. Dundalغان (Castletown Moat) is partly in the townland of Newtownbalregan, and this fact clearly explains the reference ο ταοῦ ὀύνθεαίξνα (from alongside Dundalغان).

The only remaining difficulty is O Reilly's statement:—"He was a native of the Fews of Armagh bordering on Co. Louth." It is evident, however, that O Reilly had but a vague idea of Linden's place of residence, as he is always very careful to state the exact townland whenever he is able. It is possible, too, that he merely based his statement on line 50 of the "Grave Lay."

O Kearney attributes three poems to Mary Linden—Coιιιτε ζλαρα να Τριύca : Welcome to Joseph Plunkett, Esq., of Slieve; and Θεαίίραῦ 'n λαε. The third poem concerns a vision of a submerged city often seen by the fishermen at Blackrock in the early morning. As it has been already published, there is no necessity for reproducing it here.

Concerning the poem *Coitche gLara na Triucha*,⁶ Art Murphy has the following note in one of his MSS. :—

This song was composed by Molly Linden under the name of her brother, Patrick the younger, and addressed to a young lady named McBride of Thornfield (near Kilkenny) to whom he paid his addresses.

O Kearney, in the quotation that I have already given, says that Patrick Linden afterwards married this same young lady and settled down with her at Carrickleith. I do not believe that this song was written about Truagh in Co. Monaghan. All the internal evidence is against this view, especially the line :—*ir réadaint marat ir cuantai*, and again :—*Δξυρ εάιτ οα'ρ mbeata oucéair*.

Triucha or *triocha* is a generic term, meaning a large division of land. The Book of Ballymote tells us that each province had 31 *Tricha* Cets, while Peter O'Connell in his Irish Dictionary says that it was the thirtieth part of a fifth of Ireland. The Book of Leinster mentions the *Triucha* Ced of Cooley, the *Lebor na hUidri* mentions the *Truagh* of the *Gallengi* in Co. Meath, while frequent mention is made of the *Tricha* Cet *Cianachta* in Ferrard. There seem to have been a number of *Triuchs* in the vicinity of Louth, e.g., in the poem to the Bishop of Killala, already quoted in this article, we have the line—

Ο ίαριταίβ λύζμαξ 'ρνα οΤριυχα τιμθεαλλ.

It was probably to one of these *Triuchs* that Molly Linden referred, especially as O Kearney tells us that Patrick Linden and his wife afterwards settled down at Carrickleith, then in Louth parish.

Henry Morris gives two versions of this poem. The original version was probably a composite of these two versions. Arthur Murphy and Peter Gallegan mix up the two versions, and the latter, in his New York MS., has two verses that I have not seen elsewhere.

NOTES.

1. and 2.—Both Turlogh and Benevy are mentioned in MacCooley's 'Grave Lay' :—

Τυξ θεινθε ηικ αηροξδαιλ Δ ζάημεαοιθ τηηιμθεαοιη
 Ο'εαξλα εαηηαιθ να άηηεαη θείε ηεάηηαιθ να ζαεοιηζε
 Δ αηαοθ άη ηαηημας Δ λάν εηιοθ να ηέηηοηηη
 Τυξ ηας ηαηαηη άιη ιη ηαηαηάη εηιοθ-ηοη
 Δ'ρ τοηηθεαλβαθ άη ηυηηη άη εοηηαιθ ηίξτε
 Ο ηαιε ηε ηόη οο οο ηεθη ηιλ ίεε.

Again, in the only version that I have seen of Linden's lament for MacCuarta, Benevy is mentioned :—

Τάηο Δοιθεαλλ Δ'ρ άηηε αξ ηζάηηεαθ Δ εέηηε
 θεηεβιθ ηηα ζάηηηεα ιη ηάηηε ζαη Δοη ηεάηο.

Maire, here referred to, was Maire Ruadh Bellew, daughter of Sir Christopher Bellew by a fairy princess whom he met in Dundegalgaun fort.

Father Donnellan contends that O Kearney has mutilated the above quotation to the detriment of the assonance, by substituting the names of Irish fairies for those of the Greek muses, and that the original was—

Τά' ελίο ιη τηάλια Δ ηζάηηεαθ Δ εέηηε,
 ηεληρόηηηε Δ ζάηηηεα ιη εηηατο ηεήηηεάηο.

I think that the assonance is fairly well preserved in both versions, the accented syllables in O Kearney's version being :—

ee . . . au . . . au . . . ae

repeated in each line. At the same time I am inclined to agree with Father Donnellan, that Linden had before his mind the Nine Greek Muses. I do not know of any instance where

poets like Linden, MacCuarta or O Doirnin appealed to the Irish deities. I believe, however, that O Kearney wrote down the poem as he found it in his own district, and that the blame for the mutilation might be laid upon the common folk-singers who, having no acquaintance with the significance of Clio, Melpomene, etc., substituted the names of the deities with whom they were themselves familiar. This is one of the difficulties with which the student of Irish folk-poetry has frequently to deal—the substitution of simpler forms, by the folk-singers, for the older, and to them, often unintelligible forms of the eighteenth century poets.

3.—We have several Agallamhs in the MSS. composed at these Iomarbaighs, notably those between MacCuarta and Linden, and between O Doirnin and Mary Linden.

4.—The Haggardstown Parochial Records support this statement.

5.—Father Donnellan's theory is that the poet's native place was a part of Lisleitrim fort, in the parish of Cullyhanna, still known as Linden's Hill. In the same parish there is also an English proverb used to compliment a good singer—"As good as poet Linden."

6.—O Kearney sometimes calls the poem *Coillte glara an Tmuca*, but more frequently *Coillte glara na Tmuca*. Gallegan always calls it "*Coillte glara na Tmuca*."





St. Sillan of Imbliuch Cassain in Cooley.



FTER so much about Pagan days, the following notes on a long-forgotten Saint of Cualgne should be of interest to all visitors to "The Kingdom." Though only too few they range from the grave to the fantastic, showing how quite a common tale of a very early age, came to assume in later times a form that to us seems worse than senseless, at first sight.

St. Sillan is introduced to us by Oenghus the Culdee in his famed Martyrology, composed about the end of the eighth century—"Sept. 11th, Sillan; the psalm of every sick man in fair Imbliuch Cassain is sung."

Gorman (twelfth century) is complimentary to a brother Louthman. He writes:—"Sept. 11th: Sillan good great Daniel."

The Martyrology of Donegal, a composition of the seventeenth century, the contents of which are many centuries older, for the most part at least, has:—"Siollan of Imleach Cassain in Cualgne; or of Imleach caon in Tir Aedha; and he is¹ at Innis Coimeda in Loch Erne."

Those entries concerning our Saint are simplicity itself, in the chaste style of the Martyrologies. They are not, unfortunately, prodigal of information.

Let us hear the commentators who would enlighten us about the character of Sillan. Stokes, in his two editions of Oenghus, illustrates his text by extracts from the *Leabhar Breac*—a compilation made about A.D. 1400. An extract concerning Sillan runs:—"Sept. 11th: Sillan: i.e., in his eyebrow was the poisonous hair, and every day, whoever was the first to see it was dead statim [straightway] till Molaise of Leighlein took out that hair and thereof Molaise died; silla (?), and in Imlech Cassain in Cualnge is he." This repulsive picture of Sillan is skilfully and successfully—unpromising as the task appears—toned down by the writers of other extracts given by Stokes.

Sept. 11th: "Sillan of Imliuch Cassain in Cualnge. Sillan, the oratio of every wretched one who was in heavy disease. For the desire of them all was to see a (certain) hair of Sillan's eyebrow, so that they might die at once. For the peculiarity of that hair was that whoever was first to see it, in the morning early, died at once. Now he happened to come to Leighlin. Molaise goes early in the morning round the graveyard. He met Silan of the hair (coming) towards him.

1. Stokes reads:—"He is (is buried or honoured), on Loch Erne." Some of our visitors may be able to tell of Innis Coimeda there. Tire Aedha where Sillan may have lived, at a time, is of course Donegal.

'This hair,' said Molaise, 'shall not be killing everyone, it shall be no more,' plucking it out by force. Then Molaise died at once, after seeing the hair, and hence Silan was called . . . and thus was the hair."

In Stokes' later and more esteemed edition, the extract reads:

Sepr. 11th: "Sillan, i.e., from Imliuch Cassain in Cualnge; salm, i.e., oratio of every feeble one, i.e., every one who used to be in sore sickness; for this was the wish of them all, to see the hair of Sillan's eyebrow, so that they might die swiftly, for this was the peculiarity of that hair, every one who would see it in the morning died at once. Now Sillan happened to come to Leithglenn and Molaise comes early in the morning round the graveyard. Sillan of the hair happens to meet him. 'This hair,' says Molaise, 'shall not be killing every one,' plucking it out perforce. Then Molaise, after seeing the hair, dies at once, and hence Sillan dictus est (Sillan of the hair)." Here is omitted the only live phrase in the story: "it shall be no more."

In these latter extracts the commentator is happier than most of his tribe, for his version in feeling goes back to the original in Oenghus—"the psalm of every sick man in fair Imbliuch Cassain is sung." Our Irish-speaking visitors will explain the double play on the name "Sillan" in the extracts. It appears to be given the rather diverse meanings of "hair" and "death."

The extracts from the *Leabar Breac* are a good example of how legends were expanded out of very simple elements. Just as we do to-day, writers tried to find out the meaning of occurrences of the past handed down in few words, and either took popular traditions for their authority or invented an explanation according to the best of their own judgment, or both.

The extracts seem to me to breathe a little of the spirit of the great grotesques of Gothic art in its palmy days. There we may see phases of religion satirized severely—yet by no means by enemy hands. The artists simply ridiculed, as we do to-day, the difference between professions and performance.

The St. Sillan grotesque is to me very pathetic. We may wonder at a special devotion for a speedy death as did the artist of the *Leabhar Breac* story at the dawn of the fifteenth century. But the Saint lived in the seventh century, being a contemporary of St. Molaise of Leighlin in Co. Carlow, who died A.D. 638. Now even as late as Oenghus, how must the sick, without physicians or surgeons or hospitals or medicines have longed "to be dissolved and to be with Christ—a thing by far the better." That was the root of the devotion to St. Sillan so picturesquely if roughly accounted for in the legend.

Brewer's warning to his readers puts the meaning of such legends in a clear light: "All mediæval fiction is more or less allegorical. Beneath the mask of grotesqueness, lessons of patience, forbearance, kindness and humility were inculcated, which would have been less striking and less effective in a more didactic garb." Preface to "*Gemma*" of "*Cambrensis*," XXIV.: It were well if critics of our old Celtic stories kept this sane advice in mind.

From the reference to Leithglenn in Co. Carlow one might attempt to locate Sillan in Cualann, the well-known territory in Counties Dublin and Wicklow.

But the spelling in Oenghus—"Cuailngiu"—seems to settle the question in favour of Cooley in Louth. Besides Cualann has its St. Sillan on a different date, 21st July. O'Hanlon.

Where was the home of Sillan in Cooley? Is there an Imbliuch-Cassain in "The Kingdom" yet? It would be a pleasing discovery to be able to identify the place of Sillan nigh thirteen hundred years after his death, and after some hundreds of years utter forgetfulness of his existence.

UI-MEITH MACHA.

In a former number Colgan was quoted to show that Ui-Meth Macha was one with Ui-Meth-tire in the barony of Monaghan. O'Donovan and others take the same view as a matter of course. But sometimes it has been identified with Orior in Co. Armagh. The authority of Colgan and O'Donovan cannot be disregarded. But it is worth considering the question apart from them.

O'Flaherty, in tracing the descendants of the Collas, disposes of the idea completely, by showing that quite different families or tribes occupied Ui-Meith and Orior.

"Imchad the [3rd] son of Colla-da-chrioch had two sons, Muiredach Meith whose offsprings are the Hy-methians."—*Ogygia*, part III, chapter 76, p. 281.

Colla-da-Crioch's fourth son was "Fiachre Cassan, from whom the Orientals in the County Armagh, so-called from their living in the east of Oirgiella, have deduced their origin, through the means of his three grandsons, by his sons, Fedlim, viz., Bressall, from whom Hybressail macha, Achy and Fieg. . . . Fieg had two sons Niellad from whom Hy-niellan. . . . Daire was an Hy-niellan prince of the Artheri or Orientals of Orgiella, who granted to God and Saint Patrick ground at Armagh for the Metropolitan See of Ireland. O'Hanlon, proprietor of the two baronies of Arthear or Orientals is the descendant of Muredac, this Daire's uncle, whose family is yet extant." do., do

O'Dugan's poems, too, distinguish those territories clearly

Two kings over the Oriors in pride

O'Hir and O'Hanlon . . .

The kings of the Ui Meith Macha without decay, O'Hanrattys of high plunders."

The only objection that requires an answer is, that Donough, son of Donough O'Carroll' king of Oirghialla, in his charter to Newry is styled King of Omeith Erthur. But this is disposed of by O'Flaherty's account of Omeith.

"Hymethy is a country in Arther or Oriental

Orgiella adjacent to Mugdorn, comprehending

Hymeith-mara situated near the sea and

Hymeith-tire at a greater distance from the sea."—*Ogygia*, c. 76.

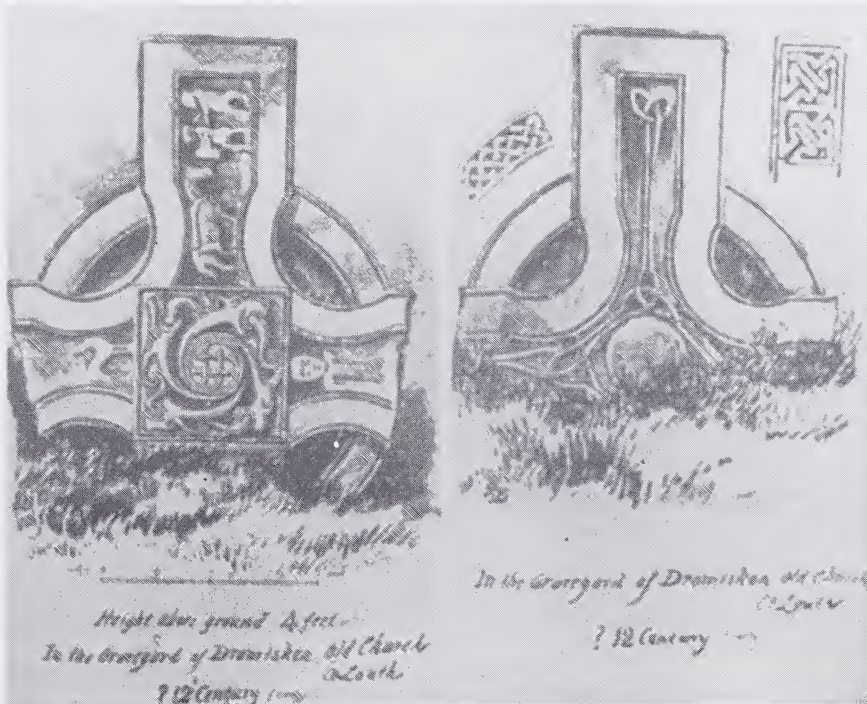
Here we have it stated that Ui-Meith was in eastern Oirghialla, or the great division of that country which had its king at Armagh and which was not at all coterminous with the barony of Orior, but a principedom of great size indeed. So there were plainly only two Ui-Meiths, Ui-Meith-macha being one with Ui-Meith-tire, or the barony of Monaghan practically.

ENDA.



HEARTH-SITE IN TERMONFECKIN SANDHILLS.

(Photo by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister in 1916).



CROSS IN DROMISKIN GRAVEYARD.

Drawings by Du Noyer in R.I.A. Dublin.

(Photographed by permission of the Council of the R.I.A.)

†



General view of shore, showing the stratification of the sand. A hearth-site is shown at white mark in centre of picture underneath the arrow.



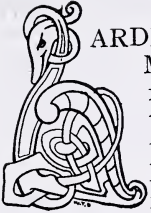
Nearer view of two of the hearth-sites.

ANCIENT HEARTH-SITES

Exposed by the action of the sea on the sand-hills along the shore at Termonfeckin.
(Photographs taken by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister in 1916).



Dromiskin Celtic Cross.



ARDLY anything is known about the story of this so interesting relic. Mr. Duffy told the writers of the Louth O.S. Letters that it was taken from the old monastery of Baltray—now Seabank—in Dromiskin townland to its present site. Some ruins of the monastery are still to be seen there. Only the “circle” and arms of the cross are known to exist; all inquiries, made many years ago, at Seabank, failing to trace base or shaft, or the extension of the shaft above the circle.

Judging by the stretch of the arms, the cross must have been originally an imposing monument, standing some eighteen or twenty feet high. The solid circle embracing the arms denotes great antiquity, the pierced circles of so many crosses being evidently an artistic development of the more heavy form.

The hunting scene on the front of the cross led General Stubbs to think it a memorial of a king or chief, rather than that of an ecclesiastic. But such scenes may have had purely religious meanings, as in those olden days almost every beast was used in art as a symbol of the good or evil passions of men.

In the old “Bestiaries,” as a writer in *The Scottish Review* of Spring, 1917, reminds his readers, the, to us, strangest applications of animals, to express great qualities are made. The very panther was a symbol of Christ! So the sporting display, on the cross, where “the hart” that “panteth after the fountains of water” is carried home in triumph on a pack-horse, with much care and ceremony, may represent even so sacred a scene as The Crucifixion. Indeed it is unlikely to have been a mere representation of a deer stalk. The writer in the *Scottish Review* hints that Thompson’s “Hound of Heaven” may have been suggested by the “Bestiaries.”

The cross was not necessarily a memorial to king or ecclesiastic; it may have been a great graveyard cross, such as we know yet, or a monastic cross or a boundary cross.

The hunting scene seems to me executed with great spirit—the dogs especially showing much life, spite of the weather-worn carving.

The entwined serpents on the back are extremely well wrought, and are of course a piece of religious art.

The Board of Works have a drawing of the cross by Du Noyer, which is reproduced in this Journal. It gives a better idea of the carvings than any casual survey of the age-worn granite could convey.

NICHOLAS LAWLESS, P.P.



A County Louth Election of 1755.

IN the first number of this JOURNAL (1904) Mr. McCarte gave an account of a medal struck to commemorate an Election to Parliament, the Irish House of Commons, of Thomas Tipping of Beaulieu. There was also a memorial drinking glass engraved in celebration of the event. In Mr. Garstin's papers are letters of 1903 written by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., of Worthing, author of a book on Wine Glasses and Goblets, to Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster King at Arms, and sent on by him to Mr. Garstin.

Mr. Hartshorne gives a drawing of an oval drinking glass attached to a stand, apparently about three inches tall, on which is inscribed the legend "The Revolution of Louth, November the 1st, 1755." He does not mention the owner of this relic, but merely says it was sent to him.

Mr. Tipping's party evidently considered this election a world-shaking event—entitling it to be called a revolution, yet not a tradition nor a reference can be traced to it—the issue at stake, the strength of parties, nor even the name of the defeated candidate—"dead the hero, dead his glory, dead the cause for which he died."

Mr. Garstin wrote a note on this reference to the Memorial Glass, which makes a correction in a detail given by Mr. McCarte in which the British Museum Metallic History, Vol. II, p. 678, is in error.

The fact that Thomas Tipping succeeded Henry Bellingham in the representation of the County by this election has led Mr. McCarte and the author of the Metallic History to believe that the contest lay between these two, and that William Henry Fortescue was re-elected along with Tipping at the same election.

Mr. Garstin shows that Henry Bellingham, who had been the sitting member from 1741, died on 18th May, 1755, and that it was for the vacancy caused by his death that this bye-election for the one seat only took place in October-November, 1755.

It may have been another Bellingham who contested the seat with Tipping, but of that there is no evidence. The election did not affect the position of the second member (Fortescue), who had been in possession since 1745, and retained the seat till the general election of 1761, when he was again returned at the head of the poll, but resigned the representation of Louth and took instead that of Monaghan Borough, which he had also won.

The Parliament elected on the succession of George II, 1727, sat for the 33 years of his reign without dissolution, and a new general election was only held and a new Parliament assembled when George III came to the throne.

Mr. Garstin gives the succession of members of this parliament for Louth :—
General Election. Parliament of Ireland summoned on the accession of George II.
to meet 14 Nov., 1727.

CO. LOUTH.

1727 (11th Oct.)	FAITHFUL FORTESCUE	and	WILLIAM ASTON of Beaulieu
	He died and was succeeded by		
1741 (28th Oct.)	HENRY BELLINGHAM	..	.. ditto.
1745 (17th Oct.)		..	He died and was succeeded by
		..	WILLIAM HENRY FORTESCUE
	of Reynoldstown (now Clermont).		
1755 (27th Oct.,)	THOMAS TIPPING of Beaulieu	..	.. ditto.
1761	Not re-elected at General Election.		

(For dates see D'Alton's *History of Dundalk*.)

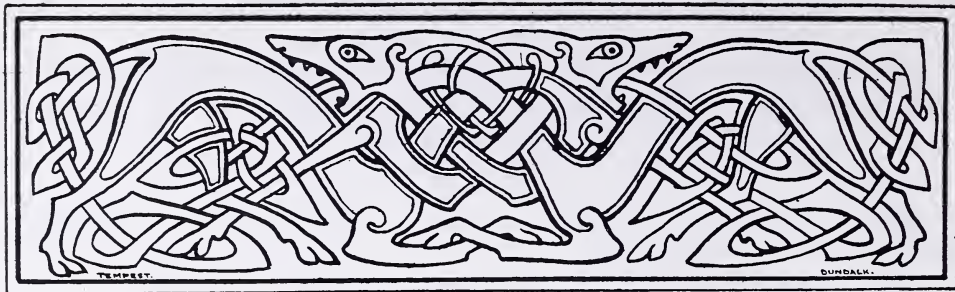
Thomas Tipping, a member of the Bellurgan family, himself originally of Castle-town, was owner and resident of Beaulieu, Drogheda, now the property of his descendant, Mr. Montgomery.

Beaulieu, the old seat of the Plunkets, from which went forth the ancestor of the Lords of Louth, of Fingall and of Dunsany had been acquired by Sir Henry Tichborne, the Governor of Drogheda in the 1641 seige, in the Cromwellian Plantation. He compensated the representative of the dispossessed owner by purchasing the goodwill, and had the present mansion built by Sir Christopher Wren. His family got the title of Lord Ferrard, and on the death of his last male descendant, Henry Tichburne Lord Ferrard after 1730, the husband of his daughter, Sir William Aston, of Richardstown, Dunleer, M.P. for Co. Louth, succeeded to Beaulieu and the estates.

Thomas Tipping of the 1755 election married the daughter of this Sir William Aston, and bought from Sir William's son the estates of Beaulieu and Richardstown and made Beaulieu his home. The male line of the Astons died out with Sir William's grandson soon after.

The parliamentary victory of 1755 was probably the regaining of the position for the Beaulieu family, which Sir William Aston had held from 1727 till his death, 1741, and which Sir Henry Tichbourne had held from 1695 to 1703 and again from 1710 to 1713 along with Colonel Thomas Bellingham for both periods.

Thomas Tipping did not return to the new parliament of George III, 1761. He died at Beaulieu in 1776, having directed that his body be buried in his family grave at Castletown, Dundalk, and was succeeded in turn by his two daughters of whom the second married Rev. Robert Montgomery of Rosefield, Co. Monaghan, and thus handed on Beaulieu to her present descendants.



Disturbances in the Co. Louth, A.D. 1312.

(Transcribed by GENERAL STUBBS.)

Plea of the Crown at Drogheda, three weeks after Easter in the fifth year [of King Edward I I., A.D. 1312].

LOUTH. Nicholas de Verdon (arraigned about) that because that Robert de Verdon, his brother, Walter de la Pülle and others their companions, as well English as Irish, felons of our Lord the King, had notoriously rebelled against the King, plundering not only the lands of the Abbot of Mellifont, but divers lands of the King himself in Ardee, and subjecting to himself the lands of the Lord of Louth by exacting fealty from some of those there holding tenancies and exacting from others fines and redemptions without regard to their own fealties, such exactions extending to the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing.

And when the Justiciary weighing this fact with that, had collected a force of men-at-arms of hobilers and footmen and had brought them to Dublin to war against the aforesaid felons, he sent a certain part of that force to Athirde for the protection of the town of our Lord the King there against the said felons, at the request of the community of that County, who alleged that the loyal men of those parts would suffer greater evils than before by the coming among them of so great an army. The Justiciary leaving in Dublin the remainder of his army—that is to say, the greater part, came with a few to the neighbourhood of Drogheda where the community of that county requested him that in order to guard against the loss which might accrue to the country by the coming thereto of the army, the community itself might guard the County at their own expense against the aforesaid felons, and that therefore said Nicholas and Miło de Verdon, his brother should have a guard from thence, which being granted of them, swore upon the holy relics that they would manfully fight against the aforesaid felons and deliver them up alive or dead : if thereby delay were brought on the settlement of the County they would keep them outside of it so that damage should not be entailed thereupon.

And then a commission by letter patent of the King having been drawn up under the signature of the Justiciary himself, the Justiciary himself ordered the army which he had thus left in Dublin, to return to their own homes. And before notice of this had reached Nicholas Avenel, knight, Patrick de Rupe,¹ Walter de Nybel [Nyvel?] and the others who had been sent to guard the town of Athirde as has been said, they hearing that the aforesaid felons had occupied the town of Loueth, hastened thither to fight these felons, having with them the Royal banner displayed,

1.—Alit : de la Roche.

and directly when they had arrived there and resisting some of those evildoers whom they found there, had engaged in battle, the same Nicholas de Verdon having joined to himself the aforesaid felons, with another armed force of both English and Irish, from the town of Dundalke and adjacent parts as well, rose in rebellion against the standard of the King and the aforesaid Nicholas Avenel, Patrick de Rupe, Walter de Nybel and others of their company and slew the said Nicholas Avenel, Patrick and many others, knowing that they had come there in the service of the King in order to fight with the said felons : and he took and detained in prison some of them—to wit, Walter de Nybel, John Talon and Richard de Lyvet, and also robbed of their arms and horses those thus taken and others so feloniously slain, especially when he could take them alive, and taking with him the aforesaid felons, he followed up the rest in their flight as far as Athrede, slew some and robbed the goods of the fugitives which he found there—viz., clothes, horses and arms to the value of one hundred pounds.

And the aforesaid Nicholas came and said that truly since he and Milo, his brother, had the custody of the peace by commission drawn out under Royal letters patent under the signature of the Justiciary himself, he took with him the “ posse ” of the lands of his lordship of Dundalk and of the adjacent parts, came to parley with the aforesaid felons and to induce them to yield themselves up and after he had treated with them about this, they saw the town of Loueth and other houses of those parts on fire : wherefore as guardian of the peace he hastened thither with his said force, and Nicholas Avenel, Patrick and others of their company who had feloniously burned the said houses being found there and a conflict ensuing, the said Nicholas Avenel and others were slain as felons and incendiaries who had robbed the people of Ardee and places adjacent, &c.

And he said that the aforesaid felons—to wit, Robert de Verdon and his accomplices to whom he Nicholas for the sake of peace had given a treaty were slain in the aforesaid conflict and resistance of the aforesaid Nicholas Avenel, Patrick and others of their company incendiaries and robbers, and he strongly recommended (defended) the capture and detention of the horses and arms, &c., as the property of incendiaries and robbers.

And the Justiciary wishing that this business should be more fully tried before the whole Royal Council of this land and also the Earl of Ulster and other magnates has fixed a day for the said Nicholas to stand before it *die veneris* next after the feast of the Holy Trinity at Dublin. And it is by main prize as elsewhere appears.

And it is granted and agreed that if the aforesaid Robert de Verdon and Walter de la Pulle and others of their company may wish to yield themselves up to the will of the Court, saving life and limb, then Roger de Mortimer, Lord of Wygemore, present in Court, shall have the power of receiving them and committing them to the prison of the Castle, and the same Roger has agreed so to receive them and commit them to prison, &c.

Afterwards, on that day in Dublin before and in the presence of the Earl of Ulster, Roger de Mortimer and other Magnates of the King's Council, the aforesaid Nicholas de Verdon came, and being arraigned upon all the aforesaid felonies, replied as before at Drogheda, and said that he did not lead the aforesaid Robert de Verdon and others of his company in the aforesaid conflict for the sake of evil doing, but in order that he might the more strongly resist the aforesaid manifest incendiaries and plunderers and in this he throws himself upon the country.

He also says if it was not for seeking felons of this kind that he would have carried with him the sign of the Royal banner, because it is not to be presumed-

that it is truly a Royal banner when the bearer of it commit incendiaries and robberies upon the faithful subjects of our Lord the King and those who are at peace, &c.

A day has been assigned to him for his hearing before, etc. And it is by main prize as elsewhere appears, etc.

At [and ?] Walter de la Pulle and others of the following of Robert de Verdon—towit, Roger de Clynton, Adam son of John de Cusack, Simon Dod, Robert Cashel, John le Fleming of Meath, Simon Cor[c ?]keley, John le Fleming of Griot, Richard, John and Thos le Blond, Richard a Cleric, Simon Serle, Jas le White, Philip Chaumbre, Ralph Hunt, John Pippard, Henry Serle, Adam de Serleston,¹ Richard Hunt, Bertram Hunt, John de Bluet, Alan son of Simon Dillon of Donaghmayne, Adam Jordan, Peter Daniel and Philip MacShane gave themselves up to the aforesaid Roger de la Mortimer in form before mentioned—to wit, on guarantee of their lives and limbs, which Roger consigned them to the prison of Dublin Castle, on the octave of the Holy Trinity next ensuing. And at the instance of the aforesaid Roger it is granted that the aforesaid Walter and the others be bailed by the same Roger until the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist next ensuing.

After this, on that day the aforesaid Roger delivered up prisoners, the bodies of the aforesaid Walter, Roger, Adam, Symon, Robert, John, Symon, John, Richard Thomas, Symon, James, Philip, Ralph, John, Henry, Adam, Richard, Bertram, John, Alen, Adam, Peter and Philip : and likewise the bodies of Robert de Verdon, Thomas Bron, Roger Gernon de Coly,² John Gernon, John de Cruys, Roger Wodefod, Benedict Crompe, Richard Godman, Robert Garson, Adam Not, John Brocas, Nicholas son of Thomas le Tanner, Roger Godman, Peter Bacun, William son of Elias le Tanner, Benedict Kenafeg, Adam Lewis, John Byrt, William Harvard and Thomas Boyt, of the following of the aforesaid Robert de Verdon, who gave themselves up to the aforesaid Roger in form before mentioned, but saving life and limb.

From this document General Stubbs compiled the following lists of personal and place-names :—

List of persons who were implicated in the disturbances in the County Louth in the year 1312 on the arraignment of Nicholas de Verdon before the Lord Justice :

Bacon, Peter	Godman, Roger
Blond, Richard le	Harvard, William
„ John	Hunt, Ralph
„ Thomas	„ Richard
Bluét, John de	Jordan, Adam
Boyt, Thomas	Kenafeg, Benedict
Brocas, John	Lewis, Adam
Bron, Thomas	MacShaun, Peter
Cashel, Robert	„ Daniel
Chaumbre, Philip	„ Philip
Clynton, Roger de	Not, Adam
Cockeley, Simon	Olyver, Robert
Crompe, Benedict	Pippard, John
Cruys, John de	Pulle, Walter de la
Cusack, Adam son of John	Serle, Adam de Serleston ¹
Dillon, Alan son of Simon	„ Simon
Dod, Simon	„ Henry

1.—Serleston = Charlestown, north of Ardee.

2.—Coly = Cooley.

Fleminge, John le of Meath
 „ John le of Griot
 Garson, Robert
 Gernon, de Coly¹ Roger
 „ John
 Godman, Richard

Tanner, Nicholas son of Thomas le
 „ William son of Elias le
 White, Jacob le
 Verdon, Nicholas de
 „ Robert de
 „ Milo de

Places plundered by Robert de Verdon, Walter de la Pulle and Robt. Olyver :

Graungegeth, in Co. Meath
 Crewode „
 Ballypayny
 Callan, Collon
 Bullypatrick, hodie Belpatrick
 Athglug, Anaglog?
 Ratheskye hodie Rathescar

Molkory, hodie Mullacurry
 Casellonmacht, hodie Castlelumney
 Hagardum de Stuckbawan
 Arthurston
 Chamberlayn
 Hagardun—Symonis Chamberlayn
 Drumcare

1.—Coly=Cooley.





Gentlemen of County Louth, C. A.D. 1600.

TRANSCRIPT OF MS. IN T.C.D., MADE BY MAJOR-GENERAL STUBBS.

Modern spellings or identification of place-names in square brackets.

The notes after name of residence are General Stubbs'.

Ardaghe, Patrick	}	Little Ardaghe. [At Mellifont. Signed petition Dec., 1605.]
„ Thomas		
Babe, Patrick	}	Derver. It was probably the father or g.f. of James, who m. Alison, 3rd dau. of Sir Patk Plunket of Kilsaran and Bewley.— <i>Lodge A.</i> , VI, p. 164.
„ James		
Barnewell, Robert	}	Rathesker
„		
„ Davy	}	Callan [Collon].
„ John		
Bellew, Sir John	}	Castletown [at Dundalk].
„ Christopher		
„ Patrick	}	Thomastown.
„ John		
Cashell, Nicholas	}	Drumcar.
„ Steven		
Chamberlin, Patrick	}	Nycelath. [Nizlerath in Down Survey ; part of Tallanstown].
„ James		
Clinton, Patrick	}	Drumcashel
„ Edward		
„ Alexander	}	Clintonstown. Charleville, Dunleer].
„ John		
„ Lawrence	}	Dowdestown.
„ Thomas		
„ James	}	Milltown.
„ Peter		
Dardies, ———	}	Dardies [Dardis].
„ Patrick		
Dowdall, Thomas	}	Glaspistle.
„ James		
„ ———	}	Newtown. Probably the same as the P. Dowdall of Termonfeckin whose dau. Genet m. Oliver, 4th Lord Louth.— <i>Lodge A.</i> , VI, 168.
„ Patrick		

Drumgoole, Henry	}	Drumgoolestown.
„ Patrick		
„ Nicholas	}	Walshestown.
„ Christopher		
Fitzsimons, Thomas, father	}	Haggardstown.
„ of _____		
Gernon, Roger, father	}	Gernonstown. <i>Lodge VI</i> , 165 Garland.
„ of Edward		
„ Roger, father	}	Stabannan. <i>Lodge A</i> , VI, 168, says: <i>Richard</i> , son of George Gernon of Stabannon m. Eleanor, 3rd dau. of Oliver, 4th Lord Louth, which Eleanor died the 25th April, 1634.
„ of Richard		
„ Patrick, father	}	Mayne.
„ of _____		
„ Patrick, father	}	Killincoole. Was he son of Sir James Gernon of Killencoole, who m. Anne, dau. of Thos. Plunket of Kilsaran.— <i>Lodge A</i> , VI, p. 161. There is a Jas. Garland on next page also of Killencoole, whose dau. m. a cousin of Anne Plunket. Gernon and Garland are the same name.
„ of Thomas		
„ _____	}	Milltown.
„ of Patrick		
„ Bartholomew	}	Killcorna (?)
„ of Nicholas		
„ Patrick, father	}	Dunmahon.
„ of George		
Hadsor, Nicholas, father	}	Cappoge. Who m. Maud, dau. of Geo. Plunket of Bewley, who died 1594, and widow of George Cruse of the Naul.— <i>Lodge A</i> , VI, 162.
„ of Henry		
„ James, father	}	Tullydonnell.
„ of Robert		
Hollywood, Patrick	}	Hammondstown.
„ of _____		
Kepocke, _____, father	}	Ardee.
„ of Stephen		
Moore, _____, father	}	Barmeath. Probably Thos. Moore, who m. Eleanor, dau. of Thos. Plunket of Kilsaran— <i>Lodge A</i> , VI, 161.
„ of William		Perhaps the same who m. Cath., dau. of Jerome or Gerald Colley.— <i>Lodge A</i> , III, p. 61. See note at foot of this list.
Plunket, Sir Thomas	}	
„ Oliver, Lord Louth		
„ Alexander	}	Kearstown. Married Cath., dau. of John Rochfort of Carryck. <i>Lodge A</i> , III, p. 14. [Cartown, Termcneekin].
„ Thomas		
„ William	}	Beuly. Thomas died 1621, <i>Lodge III</i> , 192, VI.
„ _____		
„ James	}	Nuas. ?
„ Patrick		
„ Edward	}	Castlumnagh.
„ Edward, father		
„ of Alexander	}	Bawn.
„ Thomas, father		
„ of _____	}	Derrycammagh.
„ _____		

Rathe, Richard, father " of _____	)} Drumcashell.
St. Lawrence, John, father " of John	)} Cuneston.
Sodgrave, Patrick, father " of Lawrence	)} Grandge [Grange, Carlingford].
Taaffe, John, father " of Christopher	)} Ballybragan. Married Susanna, 3rd dau. of Lucas Mor, 10th Lord Killeen.— <i>Lodge A</i> , VI, p. 182.
" Robert	)} Cookstown. See <i>Lodge A</i> , III, p. 53, under name <i>Tath</i> ; also
" Edward	)} <i>Lodge A</i> , VI, p. 166.
" Lawrence	)} Pepperstown.
" Peter)}
" John	)} Harristown.
" William)}
" Robert	)} Mullaghcurry.
" James)}
" Robert	)} Athclare.
" Nicholas)}
" James	)} Stephenstown.
" John)}
Tallon, Nicholas	)} Drumcar.
" James)}
Verdon, Thomas	)} Verdonstown.
" George)}
" _____	)} Clonmore.
" Patrick)}
Warren, Patrick	)} Warrenstown, now Dillonstown.
" James)}
Whyte, Patrick	)} Richardstown.
" Richard)}
" Walter	)} Ballagan.
" John)}
" Edward	)} Balling [Ballug, Cooley].
" _____)}
" _____	)} Balliboy [a parish including Ballymascanlan].
" _____)}
" Walter	)} Cooley.
" James)}
Wootton, Edward	)} Rothestown [Roodstown].
" _____)}

NOTES ON WILLIAM MOORE OF BARMEATH.

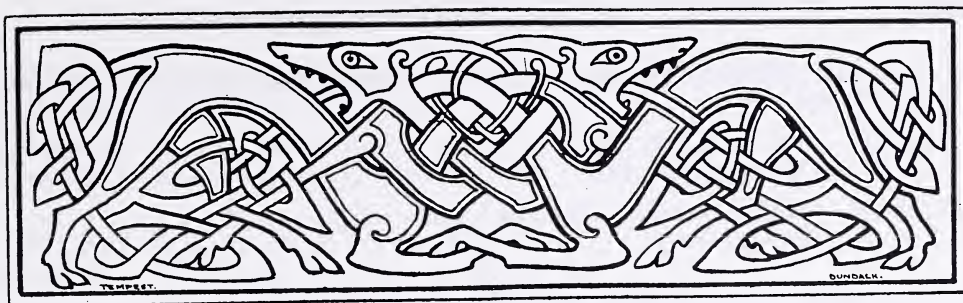
Archdall in *Lodge*, Vol. II, p. 94, makes Wm. Moore of Barmeath, the youngest son of Sir Edward Moore, viz. :—

Henry
Sir Gerald, afterwards Visct. Drogheda.
Sir John, d. s.p.
William of Barmeath.

But I question whether *this* Wm. of Barmeath did not belong to the family settled there circ 1200. (See *Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey*, No. _____), and which was still there in 1411, before the Drogheda family (Sir Edward Moore) came to Ireland.

Lodge, V, p. 289, mentions a Wm. Moore of Barmeath, who was a cousin of John Taaffe of Castletumpnagh.

These old Moores were probably Roman Catholics, and it is not likely that a brother of Sir Gerald, who was so active against the Earl of Tyrone that he was made a peer, had a brother guilty of treason though his cousin Brent apparently was. See *Lodge* II, p. 95.



County Louth Representatives in the Irish Parliament, 1613=1758.

From Journals of the House of Commons.

COMPILED BY MAJOR-GENERAL STUBBS.

A.D. 1613.

Summoned in Castle of Dublin 18 May, 1613 :—

County of Louth.	Christopher Verdon de Clonmore in Legibus eruditus armiger. Richard Gernon de Stabanan.
Town of Drogheda	John Blakeney, Alderman. Roger Bealinge, Generosus.
Borough of Athirdee	Barnebas Matthew. Patrick Dowdall Fitzpatrick } Generosi.
Town of Dundalk	William Cashell } Generosi. Richard Ellis }
Borough of Carlingford	Marmaduke Whitechurch } Armigeri. Roger Hope }

Journal H. C. I., Vol. I, p. 5.

ASSEMBLED 14 JULY, 10 CAR. I, 1635.

Drogheda	Thomas Pippard, Merchant. Richard Brice.
County of Louth	
Borough of Atherdee	
Borough of Carlingford	
Borough of Dundalk	Peter Clynton, Esq. Oliver Cashell, Esq.

A.D. 1635. First Parliament of Charles I. Burgesses of Corporations which are Post Towns :—

Dundalk	Peter Clynton, Esq. Oliver Cashell, Esq.
Drogheda	Thomas Peppard, Merchant. Richard Brice.

A.D. 1639. Second Parliament of Charles I, opened in Castle of Dublin 16th March, 1640 :—

Town of Drogheda	Thomas Peppard, Armiger. ¹ Richard Brice, Arm.
County of Louth	Christopher Bellew, Miles. John Bellew, Arm.
Borough of Carlingford	Joshua Carpenter, Arm. Bernard Sandes, Generosus.
Borough of Dundalk	Oliver Cashell Nicholas Smith, } Generosi.

N.B.—The High Sheriff did not return any Member for Athirdee, for which he was summoned before the House, 21 March, 1639, to appear within ten days. But no names are subsequently recorded as returned. Speaker's Warrant for electing and returning Members for Atherdee and other boroughs elsewhere renewed 21 Oct., 1640.

A.D. 1647. Assembled 26 March, 22nd Car. I., 1647. This appears to be the same as that assembled 1640 :—

Drogheda	Joshua Carpenter.
County of Louth	Philip Lord Lisle. ² Colonel Lawrence Crawford. ²
Borough of Carlingford	
Borough of Dundalk	

Assembled at Chichester House, 8th May, 1661 ; dissolved 8th August, 1666. Dissolution declared to both Houses by the Lord Chancellor on the 7th August.

Town of Drogheda	Moses Hill, Arm., Lieut.-Colonel. William Toxteth, Arm., Aldeiman.
County of Louth	Thomas Stanley, Miles. Henry Bellingham, Arm.

1.—Died 1640. New Writ ordered October 3rd, 1640.

2.—New.

Borough of George Rawden, Arm., Major, afterwards Miles and Baronet.
 Carlingford Edward Vernon, Arm.

Borough of Wolston Dixie, Arm.
 Dundalk Nicholas Combes, Arm.

Borough of { John Ruxton, Arm. ; dead.³
 Atherdee { John Chambers, Arm. ; dead.
 { Erasmus Smith, Arm. } Elected in
 { Richard Stephens, Arm. } their place.

Wm. Toxteth complained to the House that Arthur Dillon, late Sheriff of Meath, had dispossessed him of the castle, town and lands of Dollardstown, Co. Meath. Ordered to be inquired into 11 Dec., 1661.

Summued and assembled at Dublin, October 5th, 1692 :—

Louth Sir William Tichborne, Knt.
 Thomas Bellingham, Esq.
 Borough of James Tisdall, Esq.
 Atherdee Henry Tichborne of Blessington, Esq.
 Borough of William Shaw, Esq.
 Dundalke Thomas Percival, Esq.
 Borough of Zaccheus Sedgwick, Esq.
 Carlingford Elnathan Lum, Esq.
 Borough of Robert Aylway, Esq.
 Dunleer Blayne Townley, Esq.

Prorogued to September 5th, 1693. Parliament dissolved before the appointed time by proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant.

Summued at Dublin, 27th August, 1695 :—

County of Sir Henry Tichborne, Knt.
 Louth Thomas Bellingham, Esq.
 Borough of Brabazon Moore, Esq.
 Atherdee James Tisdall, Esq.
 Borough of Kilner Brazier, Esq.⁴
 Dundalke Thomas Percival, Esq., Alderman of Drogheda.
 Borough of Sir John Hanmer, Knt. and Bart.
 Carlingford Zaccheus Sedgwick, Esq., lately deceased.⁵
 Elnathan Lum, in place of Sedgwick.

3.—John Ruxton with two others accused of high treason, Nov. 4, 1665.

Nov. 11.—He with Robert Shapcote, John Chambers, Thos. Boyd, Alex. Staples, Abel Warren and Thomas Scott summoned to make their defence at the bar of the House.

Nov. 14.—Accused of the plot (1663) to surprise the Castle of Dublin and seize the person of the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant.

Nov. 17.—They were expelled the House. Mr. Shapcote, Mr. Boyd, Mr. Scott and Mr. Ruxton were placed on their knees at the bar of the House and had their judgment pronounced. The other three had left town.

4.—Col. Kilner Brazier was member for Borough of Johnstone, Co. Donegal, next Parliament, 1703.

5.—Writ for new election ordered 30th August, 1695.

Borough of Blayney Townley, Esq.
 Dunleer Robert Allaway, Esq.

Com. Vill Hon. Lord Charles Moore. 4
 Drogheda Edward Singleton, Alderman.
 Dissolved June 14th, 1699.

Queen Anne's First Parliament. Summoned at Dublin, 21 Sept., 1703 :—

County of Right Hon. Charles Lord Moore.
 Town of Edward Singleton, Alderman, died in 1710.
 Drogheda John Graham, Esq., took oath and seat June 2, 1710.

County of Thomas Bellingham, Esq.
 of Henry Tenison, Esq., died in 1710.
 Louth Sir Henry Tichborne, Bart., took oath and seat June 2, 1710.

Borough of James Tisdall, Esq.
 Ardee Robert Chambré, Esq.

Borough of { Charles Deering, Esq.
 Carlingford { Arthur Hill,¹ Esq., died in August, 1704.
 { Ephraim Dawson, Esq., took oath and seat March 3, 1705 ; unseated
 { on petition March 10, 1705.
 { William Balfour, Esq., took oath and seat March 17, 1705.²

Porough { Henry Bellingham, Esq.
 of { James Somerville, Esq., died.³
 Dundalke { Richard Tisdall, Esq., took oath and seat July 16, 1707.

Borough of Stephen Ludlow, Esq.
 Dunleer Blayney Townley, Esq.
 Dissolved May 6th. 1713.

Queen Anne's Second Parliament. Summoned at Dublin, 25th Nov., 1713 :—

Co. of Town Henry Singleton, Esq., Recorder of Drogheda.
 of Drogheda John Graham, Esq.

County of Richard Tisdall, Esq.
 Louth Stephen Ludlow, Esq.

Borough of James Tisdall, Esq.
 Ardee Michael Tisdall, Esq.

Borough of Henry Brooke, Esq.
 Dundalk Henry Bellingham, Esq.

1.—Ephraim Dawson returned in place of A. Hill.

2.—Mr. Balfour, Esq., returned in place of Eph. Dawson, re-elected on petition March 16, 1705.
 E. Dawson took the oath and subscribed the declaration, also oath of abjuration, 3 March, 1704-5.

FOR DAWSON.

FOR BALFOUR.

Lord Dungannon
 Christopher Moore
 Henry Bellingham
 &c.

3.—Richard Tisdall, Esq., returned in his room. Mr. James Leigh, 28th July, lodged a petition complaining of undue election, but withdrew it, August 5, 1707.

Borough of Brigadier-General Hans Hamilton.
 Carlingford James Stannus, Esq.

Borough of Blayney Townley, Esq.
 Dunleer Peter Ludlow, Esq.

Dissolved August 1st, 1714, by the death of Her Majesty Queen Anne.

First Parliament of George I. Summoned at Dublin, 12th November, 1715 :—

County of	{ Henry Singleton, Esq. John Graham, Esq., died before August 27, 1717. John Leigh, Esq., took oath and seat 9th Sept., 1717 ; expelled 17th September, 1717. Edward Singleton, Esq., took oath and seat 8th Nov. 1717, <i>v.</i> Leigh
Town of	
Drogheda	
County of	Hon. Robert Moore, Esq.
Louth	Richard Tisdall, Esq.
Borough of	Hon. William Moore, Esq.
Atherdee	Michael Tisdall, Esq.
Borough	{ James Hamilton, Esq. Called to the House of Lords as Viscount Limerick. Henry Brooke, Esq. Hon. Henry Morrison, ⁴ Esq., took oath and seat 13 July, 1719, <i>vice</i> Hamilton, died. James Tisdall, Esq., took oath and seat 5 Oct., 1721, <i>vice</i> Morrison.
of	
Dundalk	
Borough	{ Blayney Townley, Esq. James Stannus, Esq., died. Wm. Stannus, Esq., took oath and seat 9 Dec., 1721, <i>vice</i> J. Stannus.
of	
Carlingford	
Borough	{ Stephen Ludlow, died. Thomas Fortescue ; unseated on petition, 21 Dec., 1715. Richard Tenison. Blayney Townley ; unseated on petition 21st December, 1715. William Aston took oath and seat 15th Sept., 1721, <i>vice</i> Ludlow.
of	
Dunleer	

For the Parliament summoned to meet at Dublin, 12th November, 1715, a double return of Members was made for the Borough of Dunleer—viz., Stephen Ludlow and Thomas Fortescue, Esqrs., by one indenture : Richard Tenison and Blayney Townley, Esqrs., by another. The two former petitioned that they were duly elected and returned. This was read November 15th. The indentures and return were laid before the House next day, and on the 18th Mr. Hartley Hutchinson, Deputy Clerk of the Crown, was ordered to remove from the file the indenture by which Messrs. Tension and Townley were returned.

The petition was inquired into, and the following resolutions laid before the House by the Committee of Privileges and Elections, and agreed to, 21 Dec., 1715 :—

1. That Stephen Ludlow is duly elected for Dunleer.
2. That Thomas Fortescue is not duly elected for Dunleer.
3. That Richard Tenison is duly elected for Dunleer.
4. That Blayney Townley is not duly elected.

4.—Spelt Morrison, pp. 486 (list of members) and 690 (list), but Henry Mervyn in record of taking seat, pp. 512 and 727.

The House also resolved that John Forster, Sovereign of Dunleer, had been guilty of several irregularities at this election, and he was summoned to be taken into custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, 26th Jan., 1718. He was brought to the Bar of the House and reprimanded by the Speaker.

First Parliament of George I. Summoned at Dublin 29th August, 1723 :—

Co. & Town Henry Singleton, Esq.
of Drogheda Edward Singleton, Esq.

First Parliament of George II. Summoned at Dublin 14th November, 1727, but date of meeting postponed to 28th November :—

County and Town of Drogheda	{ Henry Singleton, Esq. Called to the House of Peers as Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas.
	{ Francis Leigh, Esq., took oath and seat Nov. 11, 1741.
	{ William Graham, Esq. (Right Hon. after 1741), died.
	{ John Graham, Esq., took oath and seat November 7, 1749.
County of Louth	{ Faithful Fortescue, Esq., died.
	{ Henry Bellingham, Esq., took oath and seat October 26, 1741.
	{ William Aston, Esq., died.
	{ William Henry Fortescue, Esq., took oath and seat in October, 1745.
Borough of Atherdee	{ Robert Parkinson, Esq.
	{ Wm. Ruxton, Esq., took oath & seat Oct. 10, 1749 (<i>v.</i> Aston), died.
	{ John Ruxton, Esq., took oath and seat November 25, 1751.
	{ John Donnellan, Esq., died.
	{ Tichborne Aston, Esq., took oath and seat Oct. 16, 1741, died.
Borough of Dundalk	{ Thomas Fortescue, Esq.
	{ Hans Hamilton, Esq., died.
	{ John Hamilton took oath and seat September 23, 1729.
Borough of Carlingford	{ Robert Ross, jun., Esq.
	{ Henry Townley, Esq. (afterwards H. T. Balfour), died.
	{ John Macarell, Esq., took oath and seat October 28, 1741.
Borough of Dunleer	{ Francis North, Esq., died.
	{ Mr. Prime Sergt. Singleton elected to serve for Drogheda.
	{ Wm. Tenison, Esq., in room of Mr. Singleton ; died before May 3, 1728.
	{ Thos. Tenison, Esq., in room of Mr. Wm. Tenison, decd., took oath and his seat, Oct. 20, 1729, for the second session.
	{ Anthony Foster, Esq., in room of F. North, Esq., decd., took oath and his seat March 21, 1737.
Co. Louth	Thomas Tipping, sworn Nov. 13, 1755 (Henry Bellingham, died.).

Co. of Town Francis Leigh, Esq.
of Drogheda John Graham, Esq.

Henry Bellingham, Esq., died.
Co. Louth Thomas Tipping, sworn November 13, 1755.
Wm. Henry Fortescue, Esq.

Borough of Atherdee	Robert Parkinson, Esq. John Ruxton, Esq.
Borough of Dundalk	Thomas Fortescue, Esq. John Hamilton, Esq.
Borough of Carlingford	Robert Ross, Esq. John Macarell, Esq.
Borough of Dunleer	Thomas Tenison, Esq. Anthony Foster, Esq.

The First Parliament of King George II was remarkable for the number of petitions presented complaining of undue election. In the County of Louth there were the following :—

Co. Louth—William Aston petitioned Nov. 30, 1727, against Richard Tisdall, who was declared not duly elected.

Dunleer—James Forth petitioned December 1, 1727, against Francis North, but the latter was (Jan. 17) declared duly elected.

Carlingford—William Stannus petitioned Dec. 2, 1727, against ———— on the ground of bribery and corruption. The case was important. The House resolved that the witnesses were to be examined in the most solemn manner, Dec. 19, 1727.

Atherdee—Philip Tisdall petitioned Dec. 12, 1727, against ————. This petition was again presented October 16, 1729, in the second session, but was withdrawn October 24, 1729.

Members of Parliament from other sources :—

DROGHEDA.

Chas. Lord Moore (Wm. III & Anne),
1689-1714 ?

LOUTH COUNTY.

1559. Nicholas Taaffe of Ballyragen.
1738. Alan Bellingham, Esq.
1702-14. Robert Moore (Anne).
17—. Faithful Fortescue, Corderry.
17—. Anthony Foster.
1768. John Foster, Speaker in 1785.
1785 Rt. Hon. John Foster.
Thos. J. Fortescue, Ravensdale.

DUNDALK.

1785 R.H. Robt. Ld. Visct. Jocelyn.
Hon. Geo. Jocelyn.

CARLINGFORD.

1785 R.H. Sir J. Blaquiére, K.B.
Thomas Coghlan, Esq.

ATHERDEE.

1715. Wm. Moore of Ardee, v. Henry
Moore of Ardee.
1785 John Ruxton, Ardee.
Charles Ruxton, Ardee.

DUNLEER.

1785 John Wm. Foster of Rosy Park.
Henry Coddington of Oldbridge.
1758. John Foster, afterwards M.P.
Co. Louth.



Heating Stones.

“**E**VERY bath,” says Dr. Joyce (*Social Hist. of Ireland II.*, p. 186) “was furnished with a number of round stones. . . . “The bath stones are constantly referred to in all sorts of Irish documents, but what the use of them was is a puzzle. It has been suggested that the water was heated by throwing the heated stones into it . . . But it seems incredible that they treated bath-water in this uncouth fashion, for we know they often heated it in the ordinary way.”

Though it puzzled Dr. Joyce there is no mystery whatever about the use of the bath-stones. In ancient times in Ireland though pots of bronze, and later of iron, were used, yet they were much rarer than in modern days, and so when it was required to heat a large quantity of water the handiest way was by immersing in the water stones heated to redness. The degree of heat required could be regulated by the number of stones used.

But not alone baths, but even milk and water for drinking were heated by such stones. Most of the household vessels were then made of wood, as the noggins, pigins, methers, &c. These could not be put on the fire to heat their contents, and so stones were used. Fynes Moryson in his “Description of Ireland” (1600 A.D.) says of the Irish people:—“They drink milk like nectar warmed with a stone first cast into the fire.”

The practice was perpetuated in Co. Monaghan up till the early decades of last century, or as long as noggins were commonly used in the country houses. This I often heard in my youth from old men in Farney, now long dead. Since then I have conversed with men of middle life in Co. Donegal, who in their youth often drank milk heated in this way, and who say the custom only died out in that county about 40 years ago, or less. The stones were globular and smooth-surfaced, were selected for their fire-proof quality, and when not in use were kept in a little niche in the wall near the fire. When taken out of the fire with the tongs they were laid down, the ashes were blown off by the breath and then they were dropped into the milk or water.

The custom is very old. The author of “Prehistoric Britain” speaking of the Magdalénien epoch of the Paleolithic age (page 97) suggests that “possibly some round pebbles abundantly met with in the débris around the hearths might have been used as ‘pot boilers.’” W. M. Flinders Petrie, the great oriental explorer, speaking of the Neolithic Canaanites, says (*Eastern Exploration*, page 33), “Cooking was probably done by hot stones, as piles of pebbles, many burnt, are found in the settlements. A people using skin and wood vessels, as has also been the case in the Jewish Age, would naturally need to cook by hot stones, an easy and cleanly method.”

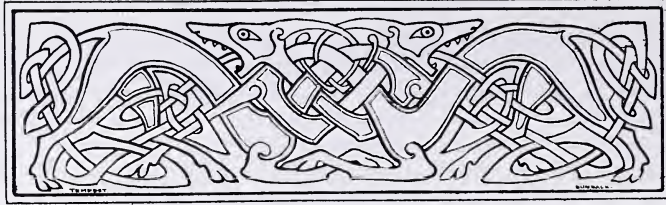
Some of the early explorers in northern Canada mention this method of heating liquids as being practised by the natives there, and the author of "Man and his Work," speaking of the races in the Pacific Islands, states that "their mode of boiling water is by dropping in stones made red hot in the fire, and for this their cocoa-nut and wooden vessels do perfectly well." Indeed it must have been used by all primitive peoples in cold regions where the household utensils were made of wood.

Yet I don't think any of our museums have specimens of these "heating stones," probably because the existence of the custom seems to be known to very few of our Irish antiquaries. It must, no doubt, be little known when it puzzled such a man as Dr. Joyce. These stones are yet to be found in the kitchen middens on our coasts, and I have collected some of them on the coast of County Donegal. I have also noticed them at Newcastle, Co. Down.

They were roundish or oval in shape, and have a scorched or burnt appearance, and they are generally found cracked or broken in fragments from having been subjected to great and sudden extremes of temperature.

H. MORRIS.





Some Features of Bronze Swords.

IT is remarkable how many features of interest one will notice in an antique object which he has in his possession, and which he can handle familiarly, as compared with his observation of similar objects in a glass case in a museum.

During the summer of 1919 I fortunately became possessed of two bronze swords, one from Co. Derry (see *fig. "A"* in accompanying illustration) and the other from Co. Donegal (see *fig. "B"*).

The former is a beautiful sword, $26\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide at the widest. It was washed or plated with some kind of white metal, which has now worn off except in the grooves, and near the hilt. This appears to be quite a unique feature in bronze swords. The late George Coffey, speaking of the Irish bronze brooches, says "It should be mentioned that some of the brooches were silvered, or coated with a silver-like metal, so that they must have had a bright and plated appearance. This has in most cases been worn away, but careful examination will reveal traces of it in several, especially on the back of the small stout class which were possibly somewhat later, and on which it seems to have been more usual. It is difficult to say to how early a time this method of coating bronze can be put back in Ireland, but it was in common use in the ninth century, as may be seen from many objects in the Danish finds." But it is very improbable that this bronze sword is anything so late as this. The handle was secured by four rivets, two of which are yet in position. It was dug up a year ago from under several feet of peat in a bog near Kílrea. The sword "*B*" was got near Port Noo on the Donegal coast. It measures $21\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide where widest. The hilt is $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long, but in "*A*" it is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

On examining the swords my attention was at once arrested by the notches in the blade just below the hilt (*nn* and *n'n'*). I did not remember having ever noticed this before, but on inspecting the bronze swords in the National Museum as well as in the Belfast Museum, and consulting a number of catalogues, I found that the vast majority of bronze swords have such notches.

There are eleven swords in the Belfast collection, and of these, seven are notched. The more primitive bronze swords are flat or nearly so, and have a thick blunt edge. Later on the blade was made very thin at the edges (see section of "*B*"). But in the case of a broad thin sword this rendered the edge weak and very easily turned. The strengthening of the edge was accomplished by grooving or fluting the blade as shown in section of *fig. "A."* Evidently then the flatter and plainer a bronze sword blade is the earlier it is, and the more deeply and perfectly it is grooved the later the period to which it belongs.

Of the four blades in Belfast having no notches three belong to the early flat type. And of those that are notched the more highly developed blades have also



A



b



C

the most pronounced notches. The notches vary from half an inch to over an inch in length, and the great majority of them are curved or arc-shaped, made by giving this portion of the edge a greater curvature than that of the rest of the blade. In the National Museum there are exposed in the cases over a hundred bronze blades. Strangely enough in this large collection there are none of the very early flat type corresponding to 10-2, 10-3, 6-7, and 105 '06 in Belfast. But there are 31 ungrooved swords of the type of "B," and of these 16 are not notched—that is, more than half. It is quite possible that in some of these instances the notch may have worn away, but there are several of them in an almost perfectly preserved state yet showing no trace whatever of a notch.

Of the grooved swords (type "A") there are 58, and all except four are notched, and as these are worn specimens, it is probable they were also notched originally. In a very few cases the notch is formed by a straight line instead of a curve, yet having but one angle. Nos. 59 and 1900-44 have two angles each. But the largest and most pronounced notch I have ever seen is on the sword "A" illustrated above. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and quite abnormally deep, and the inner sides of the notch are parallel with the longitudinal axis of the blade.

The general deduction from all this is that the notch was not an original feature of the bronze sword, and that it was devised to meet some need or shortcoming which experience had pointed out.

What was its use or function?

Could it have been for the reception of a guard? The weight of these bronze swords fitted them much better for slashing than for thrusting, though no doubt they were used in both ways. The hand that held the sword was more exposed to danger than any other part of the body, as it stretched so much further forward, and a stroke of the enemy's sword on the hand or knuckles disabled the warrior and left him at the mercy of his foe. Bronze blades were cast flat and could not be furnished with a guard of any size made in the casting. But it would be quite feasible to construct a guard of wood or bone large enough to protect the hand that held the sword. This guard if made in two parts could be firmly braced together after being fixed on to the sword, and the notch would hold the guard in position. Of course very simple ideas often take centuries to germinate, but the need of protecting the hand that wielded the sword seems one that would occur to people less advanced even than the men of the bronze age. The Irish faction fights of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth taught the peasantry the need and utility of such a guard, though they wielded only blackthorns instead of swords, and they made themselves strong wicker-work guards, which completely protected the hand holding the stick.

I give this suggestion the first place as an explanation of the notch. Naturally guards of such perishable materials would now be all decayed.

An official of the National Museum has informed me that it has been suggested that this notch was made to save the wearer from danger in case the blade did not go right home in the wooden scabbards then in use, whenever the scabbards became swollen from dampness. This suggestion I consider weak and improbable.

A piece of ornament on the sword illustrated in *fig. "A"* deserves attention. The ornament may be noticed just inside the notches at *nn*. An enlarged drawing of this ornament is given in *fig. "C."*

I have seen, by the way, almost similar ornament on cinerary urns in County Tyrone, consisting of series of triangles filled with parallel lines. Now this ornament, which is made of very fine lines, is on one side of the blade only. Evidently this part of the blade was intended to be seen outside the scabbard. Yet it is hard to believe that this bold notch an inch and a half long and a quarter of an inch deep was made merely to allow for the blade's not driving home in the scabbard. Despite the ornament it seems peculiarly well fitted for the reception of a guard.

The guards may have been found inconvenient when the sword was worn by the side, and may have been so constructed that they could be easily put on or off as the occasion required, just as the bronze spear-heads were carried in a bag, and only put on the shafts when needed for use. In such a case the ornament on the blade of "A" would not be inconsistent with the use of a guard.

Here I leave the question : some other investigator may be able to throw further light on it.

H. MORRIS.





Louth, Armagh and Cloghar.



R. LAWLER'S remarkable paper in 1917 JOURNAL gives fresh interest to the study of County Louth's ecclesiastical position. There seems to be no certain evidence that in early days the territory now Louth County belonged to Cloghar or Louth diocese. Some confusion has arisen from the identical name of the town and county and diocese of Louth. There was, of course, no County of Louth till quite a late date—till Norman times. The territory in dispute was Muirthemne and Fir-arda. The diocese of Louth—admittedly one with Cloghar—doubtless had a part of Louth adjoining the town, or perhaps the whole barony of Louth. But I am inclined to believe it had not the barony, but rather that part of Fir-ross extending into what is now county Louth. That all county Louth was ever in Cloghar diocese seems against the evidence: the weight of which goes to show that the greater part was always in Armagh. The fact of Louth monastery having possessions all over the county proves nothing, as religious houses could have such in various dioceses.

The drift of several texts in the Irish annals tends to favour Armagh; but those passages have been altogether neglected in the discussion. It must not be forgotten that there were two kingdoms in Oirghialla—the western and the eastern. Keating (Dineen's edition), Vol. III, p. 83, mentions amongst those present at the Convention of Druimceat (A.D. 575) "The two kings of Oirghiall, to wit Daimhin . . . from Clochar Deasa to Fionnchain on Sliabh Fuaid to the Boin." Though Keating is wrong about Daimhin (who died 560), he makes plain the existence of the eastern kingdom embracing Louth, whose king lived at Armagh.—(Healy, *St. Patrick*, p. 347). Several kings of this eastern Oirghialla can be identified, though they are generally given on the list of kings of the western territory. The fact that those kings lived at Armagh makes it unlikely that the southern part of their territory belonged to the diocese of western Oirghialla instead of to their own Armagh.

In former numbers of this JOURNAL authorities were quoted to prove that the Royal Kingdom of Meath extended to Sliabh Fuaid; but the two statements do not contradict each other, as a sub-king reigning from Sliabh Fuaid to the Boin might well be subject to the Ard-righ like the local kings of Meath.

The famous assembly of Sliabh Fuaid confirms this idea: "There was an assembly of the states of Erin held on Sliabh Fuait (i.e., Colt or Cuilt) in Magh Bregh, namely their bishops, &c., &c."—O'Curry's MSS., Introd. from Egerton MSS. 8853bb, and 54aa, British Museum.

O'Donovan F.M., A.D. 890, n. y, writes: "Colt: This was the name of a regal residence in Meath: but it has not yet been identified." From the allusion above, it seems to have been the northern border fort of Magh Bregh against Ailech. "The immediate followers of the Supreme King of Ireland, when he was of the southern

Hy Neil were called indifferently 'men of Meath' and 'men of Ireland.'—*Wars G and G.*, p. 44, n. 5. This was the Ard-righ's people—"the states of Erin" who held the convention on Sliabh Fuaid, on their own ground.

Brian's visits to the north are of great importance. A.D. 1002: Brian assembling the men of Erin, "of all who were from Sliabh Fuaid southward against Ulad took hostages without a battle."—*Wars G. and G.* A.D. 1010: Brian again visited Sliabh Fuaid. A.D. 1011: "A hosting by Brian into Magh Muirthemne: and he gave full freedom to Patrick's churches on that hosting."—*A. Ulster.*

"Patrick's churches," i.e., churches in Armagh diocese in Louth. For though there were "Patrick's churches" scattered all over Ireland, plainly it was not to them the Ard-righ gave freedom in Louth; they had only too much freedom and privilege already. The Annals of Innisfallen read: "It was on this occasion that Brian and the other princes of Ireland gave freedom and glebe-lands to the churches of the entire kingdom." In his ecclesiastical policy Brian appears a whole century before the Irish church itself, which asserted its freedom at Rathbreasil, Brian's decree having, only too likely, proved ineffective.

Some writers assert that it was at Dundevalgan, "The Star of the field" was proclaimed Ard-righ. It certainly was there Brian made his sovereignty indisputable by obtaining hostages from the Ulster kings. But who amongst us now ever gave a thought to the coming of the greatest visitor to Dealga, from Conchobar MacNessa to William of Orange?

Though "Brian was judged to bear the bell from them all," (*Annals Clonmacnois*), i.e., from all the great kings of Erin—a phrase, strangely enough, found also in classic Elizabethan poetry—"Faire Bridges bears the bell"—Malachy must not be forgotten at Dundevalgan.

1012: "A predatory expedition by Maelsachlainn into Conaille, in revenge of the profanation of the Finnfaidhech of Patrick by the advice of Maelmuire and Brian.—*Annals Ulster.* The F.M. say the outrage was committed "by the sons of Cuailgne, a prince of the Conaille," "by the sons of Cualgne an old poet," add O'Connor's *Annals*, 1013. Unlucky poet, remembered not by a single verse, but by your sin and sword!

A.D. 1012: "Crinan son of Gormladh lord of Conaille was killed by Cucuailgne." Malachy's chastisement of the Louthmen by the advice of the Primate marks them as subjects of Armagh, not of Cloghar.

Another extract illustrating Malachy's qualities as a soldier must not be omitted: A.D. 1021: "A spoil taken from the foreigners by Maelsaechlainn. A spoil taken the same day from Cianntha by the O'Neils. A mighty spoil made by Maelseachlainn the following day in Tirone and he drove the Tironians over Mount Fuad towards the north."—*Annals Tigernach.*

These battles seem to have been fought in Louth and South Armagh, Tirone then extending south perhaps to Sliabh Fuaid. Though Malachy was a stammerer he was no stumbler. He had the leader's gift of swiftness in his blows.

Several questions have been raised during this discussion, e.g., were there territorial dioceses in Ireland at all before Rathbreasil? That Ireland alone in the Christian world should have had no dioceses is a suggestion so startling that it requires to be strictly proved. This has hardly yet been done. The evidence we have seems to indicate delimited dioceses from the beginning. The idea of a diocese was in the mind of the writer of the Book of the Aingel when he measured out one for St. Patrick, and when he wrote: "Whosoever shall have done any harm against

his [religious] family or his diocese," using the correct term "paruchia." However lightly authorities value the Liber Angeli the degree of correspondence between its boundaries of Armagh diocese and those of Rathbreasil is too remarkable to be mere chance. Both include Louth in Armagh diocese. Innocent IV, A.D. 1246, describes the work of Rathbreasil "olim a tempore limitationes episcoporum." That is exactly what the Synod did—reduced the number of bishops, re-arranging their dioceses and marking the boundaries of each.

A thorny question is that of the Armagh usurpers and lay primates. Irish writers have seemed to me, commonly, too touchy on the point, and consequently have involved themselves in impossible theories.

St. Bernard states distinctly that the lay usurpers were bishops: "a most scandalous usage whereby the holy see [Armagh] came to be obtained by hereditary succession. For they would allow no person to be promoted to the bishopric excepting such as were of their own tribe and family, . . . though at times there were no clergymen to be found of their blood, yet bishops they were never without." They were undoubtedly true bishops and primates—orders apart. That is what gave them their security in the see and their astonishing influence in the land. Then they were not in holy orders and could marry validly. There is nothing to prevent a married man to-day being validly made a bishop for the management and administration of a diocese.

Nor were those abuses confined to Armagh. St. Bernard expressly attributes the dissolution of discipline to all Ireland, and the Irish annals sustain him. Cormac MacCullinan, prince-bishop of Cashel, was married to that earlier Gormflaith, who, anticipating her namesake, married three kings in succession. Neither did married bishops cease with St. Malachy or even with Giraldus. O'Coffey, bishop of Derry, father of bishop Amaly O'Murray, died 1173 and was held in the greatest reverence for his virtues and for portents in the heavens at his death—*Annals of Loch Cé*.

A.D. 1224: "Maelim, son of the bishop O'Maelfhaghmhair, parson of Ui Fiachrach [Co. Sligo] and Ui Amhalghaiah [Co. Mayo] and the materies of a bishop was killed."—*Annals of Loch Cé*. He was to succeed his father evidently.

Now that the reform bells had been clanging, it is quite possible that bishop O'Murray dropped his father's name, not desiring to blazon himself as the son of a bishop. However, that may be, his position presents difficulties of more importance. The impossibility of his succeeding Primate Mael Jsu O' Cearbhail, who outlived him, looks formidable. "Mael Jsu O' Cearbhail bishop of Oirghialla rested."—*Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1187.¹

Thus the exact year of O' Cearbhail's death is not so certain—Stuart even saying he died in 1184, but without quoting any authority. Then *Annals of Loch Cé* says: "Amhlaibh O'Muireadhaigh bishop of Cenel-Eoghain quievit."—*Loch Cé*, A.D. 1185.

"Amhlaibh O'Muireadhaigh bishop of Ard Macha and Cenel-Feradhaigh . . . quievit."—*Loch Cé*, 1186.

1186: Amliabh O'Muriedhaigh bishop of Ard-Macha and Kinnel-Feradhaigh . . . quievit." So after all it is possible Amliabh survived Mael Jsu. Another way of turning the position would be to suppose that he was appointed the Primate's assistant during the latter's absence in Rome, and like others in the same position was styled bishop of Armagh. Dr. Reeves, however, gives him as Primate. In the Memoir of Derry O.S. Petrie and O'Donovan suggest that the Four Masters misread Armagh for Ardstraw. But Annals of Ulster, Loch Cé and Innisfallen

1. — Given under the preceding year in the Annals of Boyle.

all put him in Armagh, the last styling him "Successor of Patrick." The Kinnel-Feradhaigh were the original Oirgialla and did not stand high in O'Dugan's opinion.

"Let us quit the mead-drinking tribe,

Let us stop from treating of the sept Feradhach."

Having turned away for a while from the lay primates, let us return to those interesting, if not edifying, characters. Maelmuire, who just possibly may have been in orders went to Louth for dead Brian and brought him to Armagh where he had received the great Ard-righ in triumph not many years before. His son Amalgaid made a visitation of Munster. He attended King Malachy on his death-bed. The Four Masters seem to say the king was anointed by the primate. Colgan thought they did not assert it: "sed solum Malichiam fuisse in ejus manibus unctum." O'Donovan and Reeves, while admitting Colgan's words to be a literal translation, contend that the original really means that the king was actually anointed by the hands of Amalgaid. Reeves points out the irregularity of a layman giving extreme unction, and is severe on Colgan for want of candour. But the argument cuts both ways. If the Primate administered the sacrament, he was not a layman. Besides, Colgan's version being admittedly literally exact, why reject it and make a layman anoint Malachy when many priests were present; amongst them, according to O'Connor [n. 28, p. 274, vol. 2 Tignerach], the coarbs of Columbcille and Ciaran. Here again, however, there is just a chance that Amalgaid was a priest.

Amalgaid's brother Domnald figured creditably as head of the clergy in 1096 when a plague was expected, according to an extraordinary prophecy, the conditions of which are it seems not yet fulfilled. It was a year of the severest public penance ever spent in Ireland or perhaps in the Church: A.D. 1096, "Great fright in Ireland . . . until through fasting and prayer the coarb of Patrick and the rest of the Irish clergy did save them." "The clergy of Ireland with the coarb of Patrick at their head" (F.M.) held processions, preached sermons, etc. Yet Domnall was certainly a layman.

Primate Domnall in 1097 and 1099 made peace between Ua Brian and MacLochlin, the scene of their exploits being as usual unlucky Louth. Here, too, Domnall appears to have been in his own territory; not in Cloghar.

A.D. 1055: Primate Dudaethe 3rd, who wrote annals of Ireland carried on a small war in which many were killed against another worthy [layman?], the bishop of Clonard, like the tenth century fighting bishops on the Continent, of whom Digby (More's, Vol. 2, p. 116) says: "some of whom were not even priests . . . coadjutors took personal care of the flocks," as in Armagh.

All this sounds like a bad dream, it being to us incomprehensible how laymen could be tolerated in such a position. Yet there is not a word of condemnation of the whole usurpation in the Irish annals. Reeves assigns the power of the usurping family as the cause of such strange silence—a quite inadequate explanation. Bishop Creighton, for far greater scandals in the Church, gives the true reason—the spirit of the age. The days we have been gazing on were an age of elemental passions when the world "was filled up to the mouth with blood" and lust. Brian Boru died thirty-four years before Hildebrand appeared on the scene, when the Church, all over Europe, was in the lowest depths. The Papacy for a hundred and fifty years was held in almost hereditary succession like Armagh. Primate Celsus, the first of the reformers, though a usurper, was a contemporary of Pope Calixtus II, who in his Lateran Council won the battle of reform, Hildebrand having died while victory was yet uncertain.

In such times as those of civil and religious conflict, the usurpation of Armagh, indefensible in principle, was easily excused in practice, as was the same abuse in so many other lands till Hildebrand brought down lightning from heaven to smite it. The married Primates were superior to their countrymen in general. Indeed, strange to say, from the time of St. Patrick onward it is hard to find another series of Primates who wielded such authority for good in the public affairs of Ireland, as did those laymen. The deference shown them by the most violent kings and princes is a striking proof of a moral sense even in those turbulent days in Ireland.

When we are inclined to think St. Bernard was too hard on Ireland, we should remember, as Colgan tells us, that the saint said still harder things about all ranks of the clergy, to the face of the Fathers at the Council of Rheims. Colgan tells us also, however, that in his own day there were over Europe abbots, bishops, archbishops, and even cardinals who never received the orders corresponding to their ranks. That Ireland was so long blind to the state of its clergy may be explained by the startling fact that St. Bernard exhorted St. Malachy to preach. That prepares us for Cambrensis, who in an oratorical flight, taken perhaps too literally, said that not even one cleric preached in Ireland. Whilst he said so in a synod to the faces of the Irish bishops, in justice to that great reformer, for such he was, we must recollect that Giraldus was more severe on his own clergy of Wales than on the Irish.

The state of things in Ireland under the ecclesiastical usurpers may be emphasised by a glance at the first days of reform. The reformer does not "tread the primrose path."

"Celsus vicarius Patricii demersus in lacu Dabal et ereptus propriis viribus," Ann. Ulster. Doubtless if Mailmuire or Donnall, on his visitation like Celsus, were drowning in the blind man's lake on Sliabh Fuaid, there would be ready hands to rescue him, and he would not be abandoned to his own efforts.

If the name of an Irish sub-king deserved to be held in honour, it is Donnchadh O'Carroll. He took part in many great events in his day. A.D. 1150 he met O'Lochlainn at Innis Mochta.¹ "The hostages of Connaught were brought to him . . . without a hosting, by the blessing of Patrick, the successor of Patrick and his clergy. He divided Meath on this occasion into three parts between Ua Conchobhair, Ua Ruairc and Ua Cearbhail and they banished Murchadh Ua Mealachlainn from Meath through the curse of the successor of Patrick and his clergy."—*F.M.*

A.D. 1152: "A plundering army was led by MacLochlainn . . . to banish Ua Cearbhail . . . and expelled Ua Cearbhail from the chieftainship of Oirghialla in revenge for [his championship of] the successor of Patrick, whom he [MacLochlainn] had wounded and violated some time before."—*F.M.*

A.D. 1155: Gentle Gelasius had his revenge by seemingly contributing to procure the release of Donnchadh from Ua Ruairc's dungeon on Loch Sheelin, when he was restored to his kingdom. Ua Cearbhail was not the captive of Breifne's battle-axe and spear, but the betrayed guest of that Tighernan Ua Ruairc, whose sorrow Irishmen have chanted for ~~eight hundred years~~ and who accepted from the traitor Dermot MacMorrough one hundred ounces of gold as the price of his wife.—*F.M.* His bad and good fortune were not enough to keep Donnchadh out of bad company. A.D. 1164: "Lughmhadh² was burned for the most part [by fire issuing] from the house of Donnchadh Ua Cearbhail . . . in which Muirchertach, son of Nial king of Ailech, and the chieftains of Cinel-Eoghain were [staying] after they had dishonoured the Staff of Jesus."—*F.M.*

A.D. 1167: Donnchadh appeared at the Synod of Athboy in great estate, for he and the king of Ulidia led four thousand of the thirteen thousand horsemen

1. Innis Mochta, 1½ miles west of Ardee, at junction of Louth and Meath.

that attended that assembly. But in 1168 "Donnchadh Ua Cearbhail . . . died after being hacked with his own battle-axe by a man of his own people—i.e., Ua Duibhne—one of the Cinel-Eoghain."—*F.M.*

Stuart would have it that Ua Cearbhail had been deposed by O'Melaglin, king of Meath; but it would be better for any sub-king in Ireland to be in the clutches of a bear or a tiger than foot to foot with Donnchadh Ua Cearbhail fighting for Oirghialla.

In 1150 Donnchadh helped Ua Lochlainn to banish Murchadh Ua Maelachlainn from Meath, "through the curse of the successor of Patrick." The Meath king returned the compliment by helping the Ard-righ to depose Ua Cearbhail in 1152.

By the Primate's founding Mellifont, Donnchadh witnesses to the jurisdiction of Armagh in the extreme south of Louth.

Donnough O'Carroll has the defeat and death of an Ard-righ to his credit—the last to die on the throne of Ireland. He reconciled the king of Ulad to the Ard-righ and did a bit of grabbing on that occasion also: "MacLachlin gave up Bairche [Mourne, Co. Down] to Ua Cearbhail, i.e., Donnchadh."—*F.M.* The king of Ulad had just surrendered it to the Ard-righ as the price of peace. MacLachlin acted falsely, and Donnchadh won over him the battle of Letterluin in Sliabh Fuaid, where fell the Ard-righ:—"Ua Lochlainn . . . a man who had never been defeated in battle or conflict all that time, and who had gained many battles."—*F.M.* 1166. This was Ua Cearbhail's worst day's work for Erin, as it made Roderic O'Connor Ard-righ.

A.D. 1157: "Donnchadh son of Domhnall Ua Maeleachlainn took the kingdom of Meath."—*F.M.* His father had just been excommunicated and deposed at the Synod of Mellifont for disrespect to the Staff of Jesus. But the greatest of all outrages on the Staff of Jesus was committed a century earlier. "Conchobar O'Maelsechnall, King of Tara, was treacherously killed by the son of his brother, i.e., by the son of Flann O'Maelsechnall, and the Staff of Jesus in his hand; he snatched the Staff from him, and struck the king with it so that he killed him."—*Annals of Innisfallen*, 1075.

Conchobair's skull was taken from Clonmacnois to Thomond by command of the Ard-righ, Turlough O'Brien. When the king took the skull in his hand, a mouse ran out of it. The shock to Turlough was so great that he sickened and died from it. And he was the grandson of Brian Boru!!

ENDA.



The Wolf's Path in Cooley.

(Supplementary Note to Article on St. Sillan p. 298).

Soon after the first part of this paper was read at the meeting in Cooley, a chance conversation held out a slight hope of identifying Sillan's place in Cooley. Mr. Redmond McGrath, whose head is so full of locallore, happened to mention—without any reference to St. Sillan—"The Wolf's Path" in Cooley. After some days it dawned on Enda that the Wolf's Path might be the Imbliuch Cassain of our story and might lead to Sillan's church. In a subsequent conversation Mr. McGrath described the Path as a great earthwork approaching Kilwirra graveyard. Then Enda became convinced that the path or earthwork is that referred to in the extracts and Sillan's church—Kilwirra. He is confirmed in this idea first from the impossibility of locating St. Sillan and his path elsewhere in Cooley—that the church does not bear his name being no solid objection, churches often having changed their names and no church being mentioned for him in Cooley in the extracts. Secondly, by the fact that such a great earthwork actually exists approaching the church of Kilwirra, just where a reader of the extracts would hope against hope to find it. The notes on the earthwork that follow, kindly supplied by Mr. Campbell of Monksland, seem to Enda proof positive, though the writer hardly takes that view.

Mr. Campbell writes :—

"CLUGACHEERA."

"The wolf's path is an old fence about 840 yards long, running nearly due north and south, between the townlands of Ballug and Ballynamoney—Ballug to the west, and Ballynamoney to the east. It is locally known as "Clugacheera," which is probably the phonetic representative of CLAYE AN MACEERA = the wolf's fence or path. But remembering that there is no trace of the work—elsewhere than between the townlands of Ballug and Ballynamoney—that, if it were, as suggested in some quarters, a road or causeway leading to the chapel and graveyard at Kilwirra, there would be strong reason to expect that it should extend all the way to the graveyard, and not stop 60 yards short of it. Further, why should it end "a long way from everywhere" at the northern limit of those two townlands, unless it was simply a "marche" between them? This would give colour to the belief that it was only meant as a fence between the quarrelling (?) owners of Ballug and Ballynamoney, and hence its name CLAYE NA EIRE = the fence of the country.

CLAY NA EIRE (= the bell of the land) would have little meaning unless the bell tower or campanile were this considerable distance from the church to which it belonged, when the name would probably become CLAY-TEAC .

The theory that the earthwork was a raised road through a swamp falls to pieces on examination, as the only part where there is a swamp is just beside the graveyard where the earthwork is not. It ends abruptly where it would possibly be useful as a footpath: the earthwork is on high dry ground throughout. Of course it is possible that the earthwork extended farther north and south than its present limits would indicate: and in this respect, I heard it propounded that it might have been a pathway between the old monastery in Grange (Monksland) and the chapel, graveyard and holy well at Kilwirra. That Kilwirra is an artificial hill in a swamp is absurd, as there are three or four such hills just beside the graveyard. Besides, an examination of the old chapel in the graveyard reveals the fact that the door jamb and doorstep and general foundation are there visible on the hill and shows that the hill was there when the church was built. There is a marshy tract of land extending east and west from Ballug to Willville, just to the north of Kilwirra. To the east of the graveyard, where this marsh bends to the south, is situated

"Lady-well," a heart-shaped depression in the ground containing water, held in great veneration by the people. Tradition says that it is impossible to heat this water: boil it for hours: it is still cold! Many cures have been effected here. About 80 yards north of the graveyard, and near the south end of "Clugnacheera," tradition points out a spot where a suicide was buried, having been refused Christian burial. But to return to the earthwork; it is about 840 yards long, running almost north and south between the townlands of Ballug (on west) and Ballynamoney (Bradshaw) on the east. South of Ballug and Ballynamoney is Templeton, and to the north of these two townlands is Ardtullymore. The fence or earthwork ends abruptly where Ardtullymore flanks it on the north and where Templetown intervenes at south. These are the only townlands it touches. It is a crooked fence, varying in base width from 12 feet to 8 feet, but it is generally about 10 ft. at base. Its breadth at top varies from 6 ft. to 8 ft. The height varies from 4 ft. to 8 ft., and in one place it reaches 10 ft. It appears to be an ordinary double-fenced fence, composed of stone and earth, but principally of earth. At its southern end it goes through a marshy spot for about 60 yards. This is the only part which shows any "sheugh" or drain alongside from which the earth might have been taken. Before drainage, Ballug bog or lake, which lies about 400 yards west of Kilwirra, might easily extend as far as Kilwirra; but it is highly improbable that the earthwork which, except at its southern end, goes through a high and dry course could be needed as a raised path through a wet district. The work is continuous from end to end, but there is scarcely any doubt that it was much higher—and probably in places wider than it is now; the wear and tear of centuries must have changed it. It is very unlikely that any wood has been used in its construction. Up to quite recent times—until walking became a lost art—it was used as a path, usually coming home from funerals; but what with bicycles and motor cars, no one walks there now. Hence it is getting covered over with furze and briars—and will soon lose its character as a path or road.

About St. Sillan or "Emlagh" I could find no trace or tradition. But for several generations past and up to ten years ago the old church at Kilwirra contained, according to local tradition, a relic of a saint—a piece of a bone loosely laid in a hole in the church wall. Anyone who had toothache or any bodily sore came, rubbed the part with this relic, and in case of a person unable to visit the relic, it was carried home to them, applied, with beneficial results the people say, and left back in its corner. Lately, however, it has disappeared—relic and tradition. It was supposed to be part of a saint buried there, but who the saint was I cannot find out. But to come down from the region of speculation and tradition, where antiquarians love to dwell, to the level of cold fact, and examine "Clugacheera" in the light of its surroundings and the state of the country in those far-off pastoral times, I think we will be forced to the conclusion that it was simply a fence between the owners of Ballug and Ballynamoney. History says that cattle driving is not a recent growth in Cooley; raids, too (of course not for arms or literature, but for the only valuables in the country, cattle and sheep) were then, as now, well planned and carried out. The only thing to make a raid difficult or impossible was a big fence. Hence, the reason we have so many big "ditches" in the country. In the townlands of Ballug and Willville we have many of those old fences yet. The northern boundary of Ballug is a big fence almost as big as "Clugacheera" and as old looking. Clugacheera seems to be the eastern boundary of Ballug (and the western boundary of Ballynamoney), and as it happened to be running from a populous district straight to the church and graveyard, it is reasonable to find it being used as a path—the shortest and most direct way of going to Mass or bringing a funeral. This was very important in funeral ceremonies, as the prevailing custom was that the last party to carry the coffin up to the grave had perforce to guard the graveyard against wolves, dogs and marauders of all sorts, until a certain time expired; or, until another corpse was buried there. Hence, probably a hasty rush along the path to the graveyard—to get there before the other fellow, and escape the task of night-watchman."

St. Sillan's path must have been something remarkable to be used by writers for the identification of his residence or monastery. Imliuch Cassain means literally "the border of the marsh of the path," i.e., any border, ditch, bank, etc. Now, in the notes, we have all three: the marsh, the earthwork approaching it and the name of it still surviving as The Wolf's Path, and its use to our own days as a path from Kilwirra.

The monastery grounds of Kilwirra must surely in its palmy days have extended to the end of the earthwork; but, that apart, it certainly was never built for a path to Kilwirra or elsewhere. It is too gigantic even in its fragments for such an idea. The wolves coming down from the mountains for the gruesome purpose suggested in the notes doubtless used it as a path and gave it its popular name. But they did not build it. Neither did the people of one townland pile it up as a fence against the men of another adjoining. It is simply a splendid specimen of our old Celtic

earthworks, all built for some great purposes to be only guessed at now. The big ditches the notes speak of are parts of the great erection, whose plan may perhaps yet be traced through them. It is to be hoped Mr. Campbell will undertake the task. He should be able to find the whole course of the work from the surviving parts and the traditions of "big ditches" that must have been swept away. Let us hope then for a plan, sections and photographs in the next number of *L.A.J.*

In St. Sillan's day likely the whole work was as great a mystery as now, and his biographers named it from the great swamp, of which drainage has left so little. We have seen in a former number that the coast of North Louth has risen through the ages at the rate of one foot in a hundred years. This must have dried up much marsh land in Cooley.

Now, since the earthwork is too great to be attributed to mere local endeavour, how account for it? It most likely dates from the days of the Tain Bo Cuailgne. First, the local king would require a great fort such as the Path indicates. Secondly, we have accounts of Meave erecting forts in North Louth, though I cannot for certainty place any of them in Cuailgne proper. The Cuailgne of the Tain extended from Rockmarshall to near Newry, along the coast. O'Looney, in his translation of the Tain, gives the list of chiefs called to the war. One despatch was: "To Uma . . . to Fiedan Cuailgne." The Louth Inquisitions, 3 Jac. I identifies Fathom with Fedan.

Although most of Meave's feats were plainly performed in Muirthemne, one remarkable deed in the Tain must fairly be located in "The Kingdom," and would explain the building of the mighty earthwork. O'Looney writes: "It was in Findabair in Cuailgne the hosts set up their headquarters, and they kindled the country on fire; they collected all the women and boys and girls and cows that were in Cuailgne in one gathering till they were all in Findabair."—O'Looney: "*Leabhar-na-h-Uidhri*," p. 208.

Is there a "Fennor" yet in Cuailgne? Another short extract may be given from O'Looney, p. 208:—"The Morrigan came in the form of a bird till she perched on the pillar-stone in Temair Cuailgne." Could "Tara" still survive in the mouths of Cooleymen?

In Miss Farraday's version the Morrigan came to Temair to warn the bull. The "Don" fled to Sliab Culind, but before retreating "he dug a trench in Tir Marcceni in Cualnge." "Then they bring the bull to Findabair . . . He attacked the camp with his three fifties of heifers, so that fifty warriors were killed."—Farraday, pp. 40-1-2.

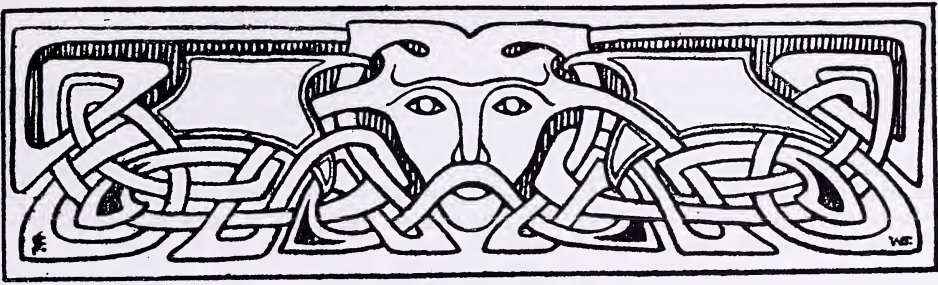
So the Don Cuailgne himself may have built the "Path" if it could be identified with Tir Marcceni!

The Black Carn of Glen Gatt was near Findabair. This might help identification. Beaufort's Memoir says Louth has more forts than any other county. Now we can claim for it at least one of the great ditches or earthworks to which military science returned in "The War." That it has not passed into oblivion is due to Mr. McGrath and to Mr. Campbell, who, it is to be hoped, will finish his notes in the manner already suggested.

For a time I dreamed of Sillan as the founder of Ruscach, near Carlingford. But O'Hanlon (July 6th) says Luger, the adopted son of St. Moninna, founded it.

Where is Sillan buried? Stokes, in notes from L. Breac, writes: "Sept. 11th, Sillan . . . and in Imbliuch Cassain in Cualgne is he." The last two words are generally taken to mean buried. But earlier we saw it stated: "he is at Innis Coimeda in Loch Erne," which Stokes takes to mean buried or honoured there. Coimeda means guardianship or sanctuary, and seems to refer to Devenish. So, after all, the bone at Kilwirra may have belonged to our Saint.

ENDA.



South Ordnance Survey Letters.

(Continued).

CLOGHER.

Clogher Parish—called *parishce Clodair*, is situated 6 miles N.E. of Drogheda. There is an old churchyard a few perches from the village of Clogher to the east, which is still used as a burial ground, and within which are old walls, said by the people to be the walls of a chapel dedicated to St. Denis ; they say it was never used as a Protestant church. The length inside is about 18 yards, the breadth about 14 feet, the height of the side walls about 10 feet ; in the middle stands a gable having an arched entrance door about 6 feet high, the apartment to the east of which is called by the people a *chancel*,—who say that wheresoever such is attached to any old church, persons of higher order in religion presided there. On the west and east side walls of the part called a chancel are two pointed doors—one on each—about 5 feet high and $3\frac{1}{2}$ broad at the foot. On the west side wall of the chancel near the south gable is a *double window frame* of stone, considerably large ; there is a circular stone having a cavity about 2 feet in diameter, and a *hole* foramen (perforated) downwards through the middle lying inside the walls, the use of which we could not learn ; it bears some resemblance to a quern stone.

The patron day of the parish (some say) is celebrated on the festival of Michael the Archangel, and hence that the church was dedicated to Michael, and others say St. Denis is the patron St. of the ph., and that his festival falls five days before Michaelmas day. They say he was born in Clogher, studied abroad, and is interred in *Killartry*—now the name of a townland in the parish of Mayne. There is a well to the north of the churchyard near the seashore called St. Dennis's well, to which people are wont to assemble to perform a station on St. Dennis's day, but it is not so much frequented now as formerly, especially by the neighbours. Some persons who were some time ago sinking the well (deeper) lest it might run dry, when digging up the bottom found a beads and crucifix, having a date inscribed on them, which could not be understood, and a slate on which a name was in letters rudely cut, but in consequence of its being broken, the name could not be known. The people recollect nothing more respecting the church of Clogher that is worthy of note, which is called by them *Teampull (Teapull) Clodair* ; it may be supposed, because there is a burying place in it, for they never (at least in these times) apply *Teampull* to a R. C. chapel, yet they say it was never used as a Protestant church.

This Clogher cannot be the Killclogher mentioned in the *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 465, where Tr. Th., p. 230, is referred to, for it is said there that *Killclogher* is on the banks of the river Boyne, and that it was anciently called *Kil-finnabhair* ; it is not remembered that Clogher was ever called by that name, and besides, it is more than 4 miles distant from where the Boyne empties itself into the sea—being at this distance from the Boyne, it may be supposed, it could not be said to be on its banks. But

there is a place in County of Meath within 30 perches of the Boyne to the south, and within a $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile of Slane, called by some *Fenad*, by others *Fenard* and *Fenor*. There are in it the ruins of a church, which, as we are told, has every mark of antiquity equally with those we have seen in Co. of Louth; the churchyard is still used as a burial ground by only a few families. The name Kil-clogher is not retained by the people, which as being the later ought to be retained, rather than *Kil-finnabhair* its ancient name according to M.H. [Monasticon.]

Under the year 1157, in the annals, it is thus said:—"He (Muircheartagh the son of Lachlain) gave them (the clergy) also a Baile (town) in *Droichet atha*, called *Fionnabhair* NA NINGEAN = of the daughters."

It may seem strange here that *Fionnabhair* is placed in *Droichet atha*, which, if it be the same with the place, now called *Fenor*, is to the south of the Boyne, 6 miles distant from Drogheda; but perhaps it is used in the same sense as that of Monastery of Drogheda [applied to Mellifont]—so called because it is situated near Drogheda.

Glaspistol (called $\xi\lambda\alpha\rho\rho\rho\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\lambda$) is a townland in the parish of Clogher, in which stands Castleco in the possession of Charles Markey, gentleman farmer. They (the people) call Castleco Cairlean co , but no one attempts to assign a meaning for co . It was formerly called Cairéal co . The walls [of the castle] appear outwardly perfect, except that a part of the summit of the tower is demolished, and the foot is greatly injured. It is now used as a pigeon-house by Charles Markey. P. Crosby says: that it was built at the same time with Termonfeckan Castle, by another priest (Taffe), brother to the man who built the one at Termon. In Ganderstown (so called by the people, but it is included under the name of Glaspistol) was a fort or mote called Mota Cairlean co , about a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile to the south of the castle on the same side of the road (i.e., on the north) which was destroyed by one of the Markeys about 60 years ago. Crosby says that at the first attempt made to plough it, the leader's leg was broken by a fall, the ploughman was severely hurt, and several horses fell dead. After the mote was destroyed, a call came by night to Markey's door, upon which he got out of bed, a man appeared to him, saying that *he pulled down* his mote, which was his dwelling. Markey replied to him saying that he would erect it again; but the man told him it would afford no shelter since the ploughshare entered it. Can you not then go to Castleco? said Markey. No, said he, for I would rather go to *Connaught* than *live among the scrub* of Castleco.

Clogher Head. On its top, which commands an extensive view of both the sea and land around, are some ridges of considerable length, which never experienced the hand of cultivation, said to be the beds of the giants. In the rocks, which are sometimes washed by the tide, is a spelunca, wide enough to afford room for 50 or 60 men, which is called the *Red House* = Cis Deas , from the slaughter of a great number of people* who had attempted to conceal themselves in the time of *Cromwell*, but were unfortunately discovered by means of a little dog being along with them, which began to bark as he saw a vessel approach the dry land.

Calliaghstown—($\text{Dáite na h-Cailleac}$)—*town of the nuns*, is a townland in Clogher parish, where it was said there was a nunnery formerly—hence the name. The people say that a part of the land belonging to that nunnery is in the parish of Termonfeckan, which they call still the nunnery land, and which they say belonged to the same nunnery as that of Calliaghstown.

TERMONFECKIN.

Terfeckan parish—sometimes called *Termonfeckin*, though very seldom by

* Clergymen some say.

the people—is distant about 3 miles to the N.E. of Drogheda. The Protestant church of Terfeckan stands where the people say there was formerly an old church or chapel. Feckan = *Feighen*, who was a saint, was the founder; they also say that Feighen is the Patron Saint of the parish, and that some time back, what they call a *Parish Patron* used to be held on Feighen's day, but that it has of late ceased to be held as well as many others. The priests hold confessions on this day, and call it the patron day of the parish—i.e., the day of the Patron Saint of the Parish; it is known among them by the name of Feighen's day as well as by that of the patron day of the parish; the people could not tell what day of the month it is held, but they say—his day will be in about 6 weeks hence (they reckon time here by weeks.) About the latter end of January or the first of February is his day about that time? They say Feighen built three churches, one in Terfeckan, another they say as well as they can remember at *Baile oir*—this would be *their* exact pronunciation of *Baile Fhabhair*, or the Town of Fore—which is called *Fahhar* Feichin in the annals. They consider this place not in Louth, but in some other part of Ireland (*very far away*). They do not remember either where the third is, or its name. The people call the townland *Terfeckan*, and in Irish *Terfeighen*, and never by any other name. When they are asked the name of the churchyard where Feighen's church was, they call it $\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\mu\iota\acute{n}$ without any addition whatever; they do not in general understand the signification of $\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\mu\iota\acute{n}$, but say that it is the only name they ever heard for it. However, some of the more intelligent class say it signifies *Church Land*, but can describe it no farther; $\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\mu\iota\acute{n}$ is the common name in Irish for it—i.e., for the churchyard, or all the extent supposed to belong to *Feighen's Church*, which the people suppose to have been no more than that of the present churchyard and *Terfeckan* or *Terfeighen*—(it is hard to distinguish which)—in Irish, for the Townland, but in English they pronounce distinctly—ck—thus Terfecken—Parish—Townland—Church, &c.; they say $\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\mu\iota\acute{n}$ —*Terfecken*—(pron.) *Terfeckan Church* $\rho\alpha\iota\mu\iota\acute{n}$ Terfecken, &c. They also say the $\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\mu\iota\acute{n}$ belonged to *Feihen*—and that it ought to be called $\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\mu\iota\acute{n}$ $\rho\epsilon\acute{i}c\eta\eta\eta$, pron. $\rho\epsilon\acute{i}n\eta\eta$, but however “we” (they) call it no other name but $\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\mu\iota\acute{n}$, or $\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\mu\iota\acute{n}$. There is nothing within the churchyard to recommend its antiquity except a few rude stones (the cross is rudely cut on some and an attempt made to represent the names of the persons over whose grave they lie—by rude letters both done, as one ungifted of Minerva would do with a pointed pencil of iron, yet not so superficially (though unproportionably) as not to require some effort. And a stone cross about 7 or 8 feet high, which stands to the S.W. of the church, having cut on it images (angels faces), ornaments, a representation of Christ's sufferings, &c. A part of it, above the arms, it appears was broken, but it was refixed with cement. On the churchyard wall on each side of the gate are a few stones, which the people say belonged to St. *Feighen's Church*, each about 15 inches long. The following is a representation of one of them [*here is drawn an ordinary triangular roof ridge capping stone*] and the following a representation of their position and number [*drawing of 5 or 6 plain stones in two lines*]:—

Feighen's Well, called by the people $\tau\omicron\beta\alpha\rho$ $\rho\epsilon\acute{i}c\eta\eta$, is in the townland of *Terfecken*, within a short distance of the churchyard to the S.W. Over it is a shed built of stones covered with green sods (*cespite vivo*) as a defence against the summer's sun and the winter's storm; its waters are contained in a metal pan, around which is a circular stone-work raised a few inches above the ground. The people say there was formerly a station at it, but it is these few years back discontinued. Its water is used the same as that of any other well. Farther to the south of this well in Terfeckan T.L. is another called Trinity Well— $\tau\omicron\beta\alpha\rho$ $\eta\alpha$ $\tau\rho\iota\eta\omicron\eta\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\epsilon$ by the people around which is a stone-work raised as high as the ground. There is a station held

still at this on Trinity Sunday. There is no part of the Old Castle—it appears from an external view demolished.¹ It is said that in the year of the rebellion Captain Brabazon (or as they call him, Bropson) (but Capt. Brabazon's tombstone lies in T. Feighen churchyard, bearing his epitaph)—repaired this castle, and kept his guard in it. The people say it was first occupied by a bishop—they do not know his name. Perhaps it is taken by them for Bishop Usher's Castle, but we are told by others that Bishop Usher, who was Primate of Ireland, lived in a castle situated very near *Termonfeckan Bridge*—(the name of the bridge is on the S.E. side of it, cut on a stone) to the north, of which there is not a vestige now remaining—can these things be ascertained? In the N. side of the churchyard is a stone (we forgot to mention this before) which the people say was the Baptizing Stone belonging to St. Feighen's church; the hollow for containing the water is about 16 inches deep, and at the bottom about 3 feet square. There is another stone lying very near the old cross on the north side, which is circular and gradually decreasing upwards, has a small cavity in its top, the use of which we could not learn. Thomas Carolan, a stone mason, who together with others was making a stove in Termonfeckan church a few weeks ago, says, as they were breaking down a wall on the N. side of the church, they happened upon a pointed door-frame of stone, the height of which was 7 feet, the breadth at foot 4 feet, and the reveal 9 inches.

St. Feighen's Festival Day, we have learned, is on the 20th of January.

This is all we can say with regard to Termonfeighen; the people say there was a nunnery at the Τεαρμόν and another at or near Trinity Well, and a church, which gave name to the well.

MAYNE.

Mayne parish, joining the parish of Clogher to the north, is called by the people ΜΑΙΣΙΝ (pron.—ΜΑΟΙΝ), for which they assign no meaning. In the townland of Mayne are the ruins of an old church within a few perches of the road to the south, leading from Clogher through Carrickbagot to Drogheda, which the people call Τεαρπυλλ ΜΑΙΣΙΝ, yet they say it was never used as a Protestant church; the walls are perfect; the length inside is 17 yards and breadth 15 feet; the height of the side walls 10 feet. On the south-east gable is a double window frame of stone; on the side walls are two pointed doors, the western one of which is 6 feet high and 3 feet broad; the eastern one 5 feet 6 inches in height and 3 feet in breadth. On the former are two small apertures, and on the latter, one; they resemble those in the turrets of old castles. In the bottom of a little recess, which is in the eastern sidewalk, is fixed a *stone pot*² about 8 inches in diameter, and (inside) on the ground is another stone pot having two ears (ansæ) opposite each other, and at an equal distance from these opposite each other are two small bulges, which seem to be for ornament.

1.—This refers to the old castle of the Archbishops of Armagh, which tradition says stood on the bank of the river west of the bridge, and of which Primate Ussher was apparently the last occupant.

Blessed Oliver Plunket also resided in Termonfeckan for a time, continuing the practice of pre-Reformation times of making this a country home of the Primates.

It is strange that the Ordnance Letters make no mention of the other castle of Termonfeckan, probably the home of the Dowdall family and of their Cromwellian successors in the ownership of the land, which is still standing fairly well preserved, a few hundred yards east of the town.—[ED. JOURNAL].

2.—*piscina*—F.W.S.

Protestants are not interred in Mayne churchyard—it is still used as burial ground. We have taken down an epitaph which attracted out notice, not for its antiquity, but for the quaintness of its design :—

*Beneath this stone here lieth one
That still his friends did please,
To Heaven I hope he's surely gone
To enjoy eternal ease.
He drank, he sung, whilst here on earth,
Lived happy as a lord,
And now he hath resigned his breath—
God rest him, Paddy Ward.*

*He departed this life Sept. the
12th 1793, aged 65 years.*

In Mayne T.L. convenient to the old church is a mote called by the people “The Mote of the black pig”—*Μοτα να μωιζε ουιβε*—a name derived, they say, from the following circumstance :—About 200 or 300 years ago, at least, a schoolmaster in Drogheda, whose name is not remembered, having metamorphosed two of his pupils into dogs, set them to fight, in which engagement one of them was killed. The father of the boy who was killed, impatient because his son did not return from school at the usual hour, went to look for him, and having first questioned the schoolmaster concerning him, and meeting with no satisfactory account, except some pedantic reproaches and menaces of being treated as his son had been, he being enraged, changed the schoolmaster into a black pig. The pig pursued by the metamorphoser and his hounds, directed its course to Monalty, near Kells in Co. of Meath, and thence to Maighin a bhradain, near Castlebellingham, where having changed itself into a trout it crossed the river at *Mayne* (hence the place called Mayne took the name of Maighin a bhradain), which empties itself into the sea at *Anagasson*. After crossing this river it resumed its former shape (of a pig) and ran as far as Mayne T.L., where it was overtaken and killed, and a mote raised over it. The course taken by the pig is called the valley of the black pig—over which, it is prophesied, a great slaughter will be perpetrated, but is to end where the pig was killed.³

With regard to the old church, we have no documents to be referred to, and all we can learn from tradition is that it was deserted in the time of or shortly after *Cromwell*, and that it was dedicated to St. Nicholas, whose festival, as accurately as we can learn, is on the 10th of November.

MARLESTOWN.

Marlestown parish to the west of Carrickbagot parish is called by the people *Θαίτε Μαρλεταις*—who say that *Μαρταις* is a man's name; others attempt to derive its name from *Marle*, in which sort of clay the townland of *Marlestown* abounds, but still they pronounce it exactly *Θαίτε Μαρλεταις*—not *Μαρτα*. *Μαρλεταις* is a family name, very numerous in mostly all the parishes we have traversed, their accentuation certainly admits the T.L. to be no other than *Marly's town* = *Μαρλεταις*.

There is still a well in this T.L. called *Τοβαρ Οριγίσε* = Bridget's Well, at

3.—See JOURNAL, Vol. I., 1904 and 1905, for more detailed and accurate versions of the legend of the Black Pig.—ED.

which, some say, there is yet a station held ; others say not. It is also called " the spa water well." The patron day of the parish is (on) the festival of St. Bridget.⁴

PARSONSTOWN.

Parsonstown parish, called παρηαιτε βατε ρεαρρον, is situated to the north of Mayne. About 20 perches to the rear of Patrick Casey's house are the old walls of a church, which are yet perfect, and have sustained scarcely any injury whatever from storms or from any other cause tending to the demolishing of them. The length inside between the gables is about 18 yards ; the breadth from one side wall to the other is about 14 feet, and their height about 12 feet. On the eastern side wall is a single *ornamented* window frame of stone, on the western wall is a double one. There are two windows on the gables, one on each, the north gable has a similar form with that in Mayne old church.

There is no burial at this church those 40 years, when the families to whom it was appropriated became extinct ; neither are there any tombstones nor signs of graves to be seen within. The people say it was never used as a Protestant church, yet they call it Τεαρυτι Βατε ρεαρρον. It was dedicated to Mary Magdalen ; the festival day is on the 22nd June. There is no document in our hands to which we can refer concerning the church.

CARRICKBAGOT.

Carrickbagot parish, distant from Drogheda 6 miles to the north, is called by the people most commonly Carrick and παρηαιτε να Carrick, and the Townland is called Carrick a bogoyis by most of the people ; for the latter part of this name the people assign no meaning, except it be from bog, which signifies soft, as there is some marshy (*boggy*) land in it, or descriptive of Carrick (a rock), because there is an isolated large rock in the townland, which having a small basis, strikes the mind at first sight with an apparent inclination of moving or falling ; *unde-nomen*, Carrick a bogoyis = *unstable rock*. Some individuals satisfying themselves that this is the signification of the word, have, it is to be feared, in consequence thereof, changed the pron. from bogoyis to bogoyis, for the former is the more prevalent among the people. This we know by having asked several something relating to the parish, and having heard the pron., they not being aware that our attention was directed solely to the accentuation of bogoyis. In this townland is an old church (chapel some say) in ruins. The walls are very much shattered ; it is almost of equal size with those of Mayne, Parsonstown, and its doors in the same form. As burial ground it is not now used but by very few families. The people say that the church was dedicated to Columbkille, patron saint of the parish. His festival, as well as we could learn, is either about St. Peter's or sometime in August. There is also in this townland a well dedicated to St. Colum, called Τοβαρ Coluim Cille, to which some persons still assemble to perform a station.

RATHDRUMIN.

Rathdrumin parish, joining Carrickbagot on the E. and N.E., is called by the people ρατ ρυμιν and most commonly παρηαιτε αν ρατα. The townland of Rathdrumin is called by Peter Walsh and George Howell (both of that T.L.) Ρατ ρυμιν

4.—No trace of the church remains. The graveyard in which it probably stood is now only the western end of a field near the demesne roadway to Rokeby House. The fence that enclosed it has been removed. The coffins of the Robinson family whose remains had been buried here were transferred to St. Peter's churchyard, Drogheda, and reinterred there by the last of the Primate's descendants, Mrs. Montgomery, on her sale of the residence within the last decade.—ED.

ιυβαρη—οι Όριυμ αν ιυβαρη munitio parvi dorsi taxus, fort of the hill of the yew tree. They could assign no meaning for the words except the two first ρατ = a fort; and οριυμιν = a back (according to them), but this is the exact pron., though it cannot be easily distinguished whether ιν or αν intervene. In the Inquisitions temp. Jac. I it is called "le Rathdrommeure," "Rathdronnure," "Rathdromenure." The fort in Rathdrumin is differently constructed from the motes in this country; it has the same form with the forts in the north; it is hollow in the centre, whereas the motes are level at the top.⁵ St. Peter is the patron saint of this parish; his festival is still celebrated in it. The Protestant church is now built on the site of the chapel dedicated to St. Peter, the ruins of which the people remember to have seen.

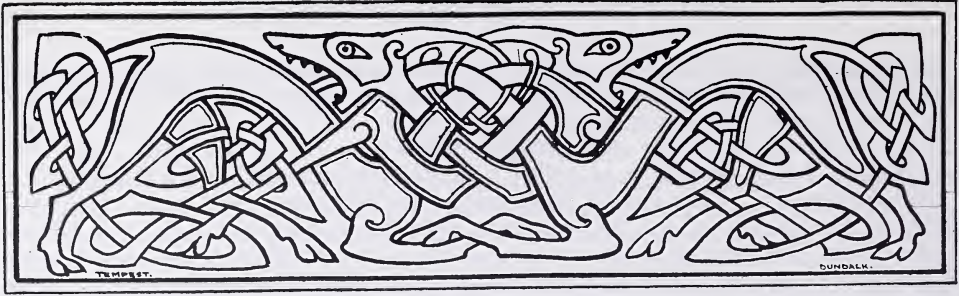
DRUMSHALLON.

Drumshallon parish, to the south of Rathdrumin, is called Όριυμ ρεαε'υλαν by the people, who say the meaning of the latter part of the name is "a watery or wet marshy ground," bearing affinity with ριολαιν = a rill. There is a lake in the parish which the people call Wade's Lough (loc a Βαδαδισ, a man's name), and they say it is from the land around the lake being somewhat marshy that the T.L. is called Όριυμ ρεαλαν (the exact pron. not αν). This is the only meaning assigned to the word.

In the townland of Drumshallon are the ruins of an old church; there is no burial at it now; it is this long time deserted. It is thought to be of equal antiquity with the other ruined churches. The patron day of the parish is on the 8th of Sept., the festal of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.

5.—Rathdrumin. For this mote see JOURNAL, Vol. II., 1908, p. 86-7.—ED.





Drogheda and Boyne Pictures.

ACQUIRED these two remarkable pictures at the sale of Colonel George Hamilton Johnstone's magnificent collection of pictures and antiques at Kilmore Abbey, County Armagh, which took place on the 16th June, 1920. Their size is about 40 inches square. They are painted on slate—a rare and unusual thing. The upper corners are circular, and they are framed in heavy carved wood and plaster gilt frames. They are evidently constructed to be placed on brackets or shelves, and not suspended on account of their great weight.

Colonel Johnstone told me he knew very little of their origin. He purchased them from Reddy, a Dublin dealer, many years ago. The paintings have considerable merit as works of art, but more as historical representations, especially the Drogheda one, of scenes now much altered. This latter picture is taken from the south side of the river Boyne looking west, and clearly made before the construction of the Railway Viaduct. The figures, etc., appear to give about a ninety or one hundred years old appearance to the pictures.

The other picture is a fine representation of the Boyne and Slane Castle, one of the most beautiful vistas on that picturesque river.

In the Rev. J. B. Leslie's *Armagh Clergy* there is a reference (p. 249) to a 1710 picture of Drogheda let into a panel in the hall of Beaulieu House, where it is stated that St. Peter's church seems to be in ruins. This church was rebuilt in 1748 in the style shown in the present picture.

Dr. Bradley of Drogheda tells me that he believes these two pictures were originally panels in the Saloon of the first Drogheda paddle steamer, the *Colleen Bawn*, which was eventually sold in Glasgow to be broken up. Some one in Drogheda bought them and brought them to Drogheda where they were again offered for sale about 1900. This may have been the time the Dublin dealer acquired them. The Drogheda buyer believed they are painted by a man named Anderson.

I trust the reproductions of these pictures may bring a fuller light on their origin and also upon the artist who painted them.

It is my intention to present these pictures to the Town of Drogheda when it has a suitable and proper place to care them, meantime I am placing them in trust of the Louth Archæological Society, to be kept at Dundevalgan in trust for the Mayor and Corporation of Drogheda. My main object in acquiring these pictures was to prevent their passing into alien hands or being taken out of our country altogether, as their proper home is on the banks of the Boyne.

FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.



SLANE CASTLE AND THE BOYNE.

(From the originals in the possession of Francis Joseph Bigger, Belfast.)



DROGHEDA.

(From the originals in the possession of Francis Joseph Bigger, Belfast.)



St, Fintan, Abbot of Dromin.

BY REV. HENRY PARLIN.

FHE ancient records of Ireland mention at Oct. 10th the Feast of St. Fintan of Dromin in Ui Segain, the genealogies making him son of Eoghan son of Catan son of Fergus, &c., up to Oilíoll Olum. But there are numerous Dromins in Ireland, and Ui Segain proves a very illusive place-name, and as a result different writers claim this St. Fintan for different Dromins.

Professor MacNeill gives sound advice when a case of this kind is in hand : to fix on the ascertained facts, and work from these.

What are the facts in this Fintan case ?

1. The name is Fintan—not Finnian, or Finn, or any other etymologically akin to it. All the records give Fintan. Not one gives a different name, the *t* being *always* present.

2. Among the dozens of saints named Fintan only one is designated *of Dromin*. This is very important. For if it can be shown that Dromin, Co. Louth, *v.g.*, had a St. Fintan as patron at any time, then the records refer to that Dromin alone.

3. The various forms in which "Dromin" appears in the records raise no difficulty. There is no discussion on the point of spelling.

4. Here is the cardinal fact in the case : St. Fintan was the recognised patron of Dromin, Co. Louth, in 1412. The evidence for this is incontestible.

The *Register of Primate Fleming** [of Armagh] records at that year the collation of the rectory of St. Fintan's, Dromin (Dromyng), vacant by the death of Master Richard Barry, to Nicholas Alexander, a clerk of the diocese of Meath. The instrument was given at Drogheda.—*Cal. of Fleming's Register—R.I.A. Proc.*, Vol. XXX., Sec. C., p. 148.

It is exceedingly strange how O'Hanlon missed this decisive point, for Reeves refers to it in his *Adamnan*, p. 103. It is valuable also inasmuch as it fixes one place for a certainty in Ui Segain ; and by doing so lends great probability to "Enda's" contention, that Rathcoole, Co. Louth, is the "Rathcuile" of the *Seventh Life of St. Patrick*. See Colgan's *Trias*, c. 14, p. 151 ; and *I. A. J.* for 1912, pp. 31, 32, &c.—article on "Rathcool, Ui Segain, Leire," O'Hanlon admitted some probability in this view (March 17, p. 677, note 2). Two hundred years later than the above collation only one Dromin was still known to have a St. Fintan as its patron, *i.e.*,

* May 1, 1404, consecrated ; died June, 1416.

when O'Clery compiled the Martyrology of Donegal and the pedigree of this Saint Fintan. We are therefore compelled to conclude that Dromin, Co. Louth, is the place referred to in the records, which are reproduced hereunder from O'Hanlon, October 17.

THE RECORDS—Oct. 10.

1. The pubd. Martyrology of Tallagh—St. Fintan Droma Ing.
2. That copy of M.T. in B. Leinster gives—Fintain Droma Ing., i.e., Fintan of Druim Ing.
3. Felire of Oengus—Leabhar Breac copy—Fintan find frem fine Droma Ingard aige, i.e., Fintan the fair, a vine's root, pillar of Druim Ingard.
4. The commentator adds that his place was "in Ui Segain."
5. Mart. of Marianus O'Gorman—Abb Droma in fial Fintan, i.e., the modest Fintan, Abbot of Druim.
6. Commentator adds—Droma hIng i nÚibh Segain, i.e., of Druim Ing in Hu Segain.
7. MS. in T.C.D. marked B. 3-12—Fintaini Dromanig, iii. Lect, i.e., [Feast of] Fintan of Dromin [having] three proper Lections.
8. Mart. of Donegal (edited by Todd and Reeves) gives—Fionntan, Abbot of Druimhing in Ui Segain. It is worth noting that this last was written a full century after Manus O'Donnell had told his version of the alleged quarrel over the Book—"Once upon a time Colum Cille visited Finnian (Findein) of Dromin (Droma Find)," &c. It shows there never had been any confusion over the name, and that "Finnian of Dromin" had merely a legendary, never a real existence. O'Hanlon quotes O'Clery as stating that the mother of St. Fintan was Nemh of Luaighne.
9. Pedigree of St. Fintan of Dromin from the Archiv. Hib., Vol. VI, Suppl. pp. 123, 2—Fionntan Droma Hing m Eoghain m Catain m Fearghosa m Fionn-caoimh m Fecc m Fionnachadha ullaigh m Connla m Faidhcc m Cen m Oilealla oluim et cetera.
10. Pedigree of St. Finnian of Maghbile, *ib.*, pp. 83, 2.—Finden Moighe Bile m Cairbre m Oilealla m Trichim m Fecc m Iiomcadha m Breasail m Siorchaadha m Fiattaigh finn m Daire m Dluthaigh, m Detsin m Eathach m Sin m Rosin m Triuin m Roitriuin m Airnil m Maine m Forgo m Fearadhaig m Oilella érannt m Fiachain firmara m Aonghasa tuirmigh temhrach et cetera.

Some corrections by MacNeill—

(a) Ui Sogain sometimes mistaken for Ui Segain, v.g., by Shearman in *Loca Patriciana*. "The neighbourhood of Tuam was inhabited by a Pictish race, the Sogain, until the ninth century; and some of the same race were subject to the rulers of Ui Maine long afterwards."—*Ir. Histl. Tract*, A.D. 721, p. 146.

(b) "O'Donovan strangely sought in *Book of Rights*, p. 151, to connect the names of Ui Dorthainn and Bile Tortain, and has been followed by others in locating Ui Dorthainn near Ardbraccan in Meath. The references in the annals show that the Ui Dorthainn, who were a branch of the Airgialla, were situated in Oriel, probably S. of Armagh in Monaghan Co."

(c) In *Phases of Irish History* he points out two other wild guesses by O'Donovan in the annals, by which other editors are misled, p. 264.

Other corrections suggested here—

(d) Index to *Calendar of the Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, supplied by Dr. Lawlor—Fintan, Finnian, or Finn—referring to St. Fintan.

The *Calendar* nowhere confounds these names. The editor of the *Calendar*, Mr. Gilbert, distinguishes them specifically in his introduction.

(e) *A Charter of Cristin, Bishop of Louth*, by Dr. Lawlor, p. 38 :—

“ Church of St. Fintan of Drumcar.” Read—“ Church of St. *Finnian* of Drumcar. Nowhere in the *Chartularies* quoted is the Patron of Drumcar called *Fintan*.

(f) *The Cathach of St. Columba*, by Dr. Lawlor, page 312, line 28—“ Finnian of Drum Finn, which is certainly the place now known as Dromin, Co. Louth.”

No such saint occurs in the records. The author next line gives the Patron of Dromin, St. *Fintan*, who is found in the records.

(g) Same page, line 32—“ Fintan, Finnian or Finn.” True for Fintan : not for Finnian or Finn, of whom there is no record in connexion with Dromin.

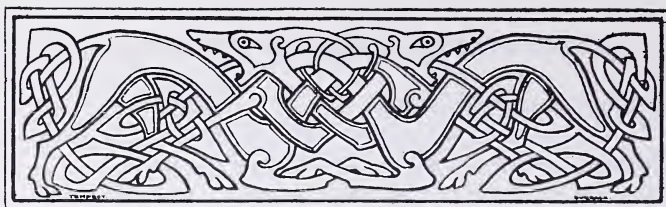
(h) “ No mention of him [St. Fintan] in the Kalendars ” ! See the records above.

(i) Page 312, last line. Reeves is plainly wrong, as the genealogies show.

(j) Page 313, line 13. “ Finnian of Dromin is no other than Finnian of Maghbile.” There is no trace whatever in the records of Finnian of Maghbile having had any connection with Dromin.

There can be now no reasonable doubt therefore, that the *Fintan of Dromin* whom the records give, was the Patron of Dromin, *Co. Louth* ; that the name was always clearly known as *Fintan*, not one of the records omitting the *t* or exchanging it for *d* ; that although the earlier records say nothing of Ui Segain, the commentators must have good authority for giving it, as if they were locating the Saint on their own authority we should expect them to give the then name of the district instead of the ancient one ; that one Louth place is thus certainly in Ui Segain and that consequently we must reject the guesses of those learned authors who would confine it to the present county of Meath ; that the legendary quarrel of St. Columba about the Book was a mere myth—with *Finnian* not of Dromin as given by the various records quoted above, but of Druim *Find* (apparently a place that never was met with in Irish literature) ; that it is unsafe, therefore, to turn legend into history ; and that the opinions of great scholars like O'Donovan, Reeves, &c., ought in all cases be put to the test of prof.

HENRY PARLIN.



References to St. Colmcille in Louth

IN MANUS O'DONNELL'S "LIFE OF COLMCILLE," A.D. 1532.

CHAPTER II.

Prophecies concerning Colmcille made before his birth.

"Of him prophesied the senior of the priests of Ireland even old Mochta of Louth (Sen. Mochta Lugmaid) two hundred years before him." And thus it was that Mochta prophesied of him:—On a certain time it happened that Mochta was in Iona, and one Mac Rith, his serving man, brought nuts to him. And Mochta refused the nuts, and this is what he said:—"Not to me," saith he, "belongeth the land whereon these nuts came. Let the fruit of that land be put by till its master come."

"When shall he come?" saith the youth.

"At the end of two hundred years," saith Mochta.

And when Mochta returned from Iona to Erin he prayed thenceforth facing the North.

CHAPTER XIV.

167. Here beginneth the sending of Colmcille to Alba and the cause of his exile to Alba as his life anon. will show.

168. On a time Colmcille went to stay with Finnen of Druim Finn (Finden Droma Find), and he asked of him the loan of a book, and it was given him.

* * * * *

169. (After Dearmaid's judgment). And then Colmcille said, "I will go to my kinsmen the Clan of Conall and of Eogan and I will make war against thee. . . ."

170 Then said King Diarmaid that none of the men of Erin should be suffered to accompany Colmcille from that place. . . . Then Colmcille went his way from the place without leave of the King of Erin. And the safeguard of God was upon him in such wise that he was invisible to all as he departed from their sight, and he went to Monasterboice (Mainester Baide) that night. And all men warned him to be on his guard in Sliabh Breg on the morn, for Diarmuid and his folk were in ambush for him on the way, lest he reach his kinsfolk to set them against the King.

171. And so on the morn Colmcille rose early and set his following on one side of the mountain whilst he took another way alone.

And unknown to the King of Erin God bore Colmcille and his folk through the midst of the mountain.

CHAPTER VIII.

CLONMORE (DUNLEER), MONASTERBOICE.

99. Colmcille built many churches throughout the country of Bregha and Midhe and he left successors of his therein, and memorials sent by himself. He left Oissin Mac Cellaig in Cluain Mor bher n-ard—of Ferrard.

And after that he went to the monastery of Buide mac Bronaig. Then it was that the crozier of Colmcille touched the glass vessel that had been in the hand of Buide when he was dying, and the sound thereof was heard throughout the whole Church. And then Colmcille revealed the place where Buide was buried, and he blessed his Church and enshrined his relics as Buide had promised when he was dying, prophesying of Colmcille.



The East Window of St. Nicholas' Parish Church, Dundalk.

NOTES ON THE STAINED GLASS AND INSCRIPTIONS,

By the late Mr. J. R. GARSTIN.

The late Mr. Garstin's papers included some descriptions and pencilled notes of this window, which he had made, but we are not aware that he ever used the materials in any published article. We give them here just as they stand. The notes in italics have been added after comparison with the window.

We have no information to tell us how Lord Roden became possessed of this stained glass. The pieces are of all sizes and shapes, and of widely differing age and style of painting, and must be the remains of five or six windows. There are many other fragments not specially mentioned above which have been used for filling up corners without any regard to their character. It seems probable that Lord Roden brought them from Italy and perhaps other places abroad. It looks as if he had made a hobby of collecting pieces of old stained glass.

CHANCEL WINDOW OF DUNDALK CHURCH

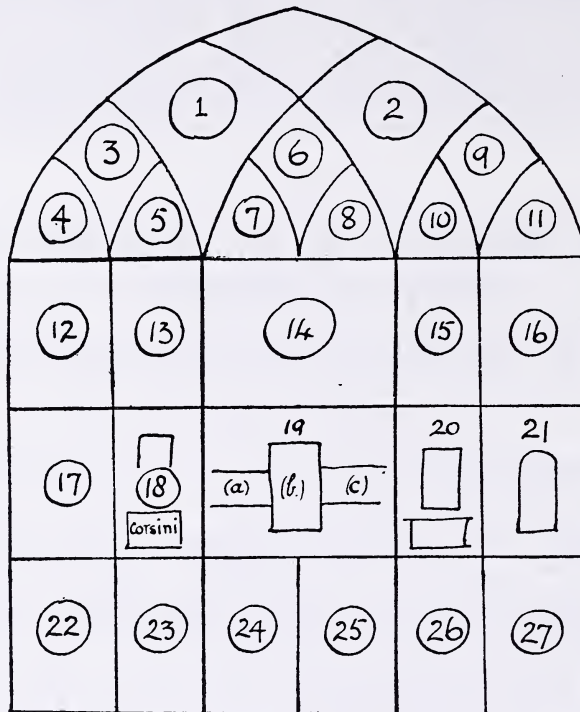
given by Robert, 2nd Earl of Roden, 1812.

Extracts from Vestry Book :—In the Vestry Book appears an entry under date April 4, 1809, showing that the Vestry, among other items, "laid the following on the parish" :—

"To put in the stained glass into the Eastern Window of the Church, which was presented to the parish by the Earl of Roden £28 8s. 9d."

Again in 1811 on Easter Tuesday, April 11, they levied £20 "to complete the East Window with stained glass," and three years later, an entry identical with the latter appears. So, unless there is some mistake as to the repetition, the parishioners, or rather the ratepayers, paid £68 8s. 9d. to fix up the glass given by Lord Roden. From this it may be inferred that they greatly prized the donation; including S. Andrew from Fiesole! But what became of the glass that was displaced?

Description as written by Rev. J. Thorpe from dictation of J. R. Garstin, F.S.A., on ladder examining window closely—about 1881 or 2:—



1. Delilah shearing locks of Samson—in background carrying off gates of Gaza. Also taking honey from dead lion.
2. Tower of Babel, with people all groping about like blind men. Fire in background. Tower like base of an Irish round tower.
3. Virgin crowned holding up infant Jesus to a great woman (? Anna). Holy Dove descending on the Child.
4. Man and Woman sitting side by side. Hunter and dogs in background and angel.
5. Jesus Christ falling under cross. Crown of thorns.
6. A habited monk carrying a book [*and crucifix*], between 2 pillars, emblem of ———. At his feet a dog carrying a lighted torch with a globe at his feet. Nimbus around head of figure.
7. A winged draped angel leaning on an Armorial shield. *There is a rough drawing by Mr. Garstin. We describe it un-heraldically as follows:—Oval in shape, a broad red band across centre. A double-headed black eagle in upper and a tree with*

a sheep at its foot, in lower portions of the oval, both on a yellow ground. Underneath inscription in Dutch (?):—

Teüntgen van avendonck
wed^e van Tanze
Hulsthout niet sonder bodt
o lyden verduldigh 1636¹

8. Daniel in the den of lions. The "Son of Man" in the background.

9. Giant up to knees in water, carrying in his left hand a tree like a stick. Over his head a child with nimbus. To meet him comes a small figure bearing a canister.

This seems undoubtedly St. Christopher. The child is seated on his shoulders and the stick is the usual staff.

10. Interior of church, altar with 2 candlesticks, 2 flagons, 4 patens or dishes. A nobleman entering with ring on thumb. A casket at his feet. Three figures to the left (a piece inserted to mend).

11. Interior of cloister or courtyard. Two female figures are apparently fainting, four warriors: one of whom seems rushing to her assistance, 3 ponies in background, pillar in centre.

12. A feast: 5 men, 4 women; costume apparently Jewish. Above are 3 cherubs blowing trumpets? Marriage Supper? Marriage of Cana of Galilee.

13. The Annunciation.

14. Centre-piece, modern English, a cherub surrounded by a glory.

15. In background a mount, rocky, many figures, one apparently fleeing a sheep (injured), 6 large figures, 1 smaller to their right, reclining on a couch a figure still smaller, above him 2 yellow circles, ? sun and moon, on one sun, moon and 12 stars, on the other ten fat and ten lean sheaves. Evidently Joseph dreaming, &c.

16. David bringing head of Goliath on point of his sword met by women with musical instruments.

17. Only a small upper portion remains which has been replaced by a modern square, Moses writing on stone. Nude figures. *Mr. Thorpe's writing is indistinct. There are no nude figures. The small upper portion contains the heads and shoulders of two figures one with a nimbus.*

18. Medallion, &c. (has it a little bit representing one of the London city churches). Within an arcade 2 figures of Bishops carrying each a crozier, the foremost one kneeling in prayer at a fald-stool on which lies an open book resting on a red velvet cushion, beside it, on another similar cushion, his mitre. The second bishop standing behind in the act of blessing—behind him in a tub-like vessel 3 nude children. Underneath inscription in Latin, given inaccurately in D'Alton's *Dundalk*. Underneath on the glass, which is unfortunately cracked down the centre, runs the following inscription in capital letters (the Is being dotted and the Us represented

1.—Mr. Kerbosch, Dundalk, states that this is probably old Dutch. The painting on the glass is indistinct in places and Mr. Garstin's copy while as careful as he could make it may not be quite exact, as it is difficult to translate.

Teüntgen is a diminutive Christian name from Anthony, probably Antionette; *Van Avendonck*—surname. *Wed^e van*—widow of (word illegible); *Tanze*, this if a personal name may be Janzen; *Hulsthout* may be surname or name of a place; *niet sonder*—not without; *bodt*, this is most probably "todt" = died; *lyden verduldigh*—suffering patiently. It may read:—

Antionette van Avendonck, widow of ——— Janzen (Tanze) Hulsthout died 1636 (or died at Hulthout 1636) not without patient suffering.

by Vs, and the double Is in the last two words represented by Y with two dots over it. Marks of contraction being placed over the EPVS in the first line, and to the end of the third to make the omission of the final M) :—

S. ANDREAS FESVLANS EPVS EX NOBILI
 CORSINORVM FAMILIA NATVS, VIR, PROPTER
 EXIMIAM CHARITATEM ET MANSVETVDINE,
 PAVPERVM REFGIVM, ORPHANORVM PATER,
 VIDVARVM SPONSVS VVLGO AESTIMATVS :
 ITA OMNIA OMNIBVS FACTVS, MIRACVLIS CO-
 RVSCANS, PRÆDICTA MORTIS DIE, PYSSIME OBYT
 1373

The copy of the inscription in the Vestry from D'Alton's *Dundalk* is inaccurate.
Translated by J. R. Garstin :—

Saint Andrew, Bishop of Fiesole, by birth [one] of the noble family of the Corsini, A man, on account of his extraordinary charity and gentleness, commonly regarded as a [the ?] refuge for the poor, a father of the fatherless and a spouse of widows. So having become "all things to all," gleaming with miracles, he died, in the odour of sanctity, on the day predicted for his death, 1373.

19. Is different from any of the others in kind ; (a) two Jewish priests, who have been sacrificing at an altar—falling into and devoured by flames ; (b) centre piece—much damaged and late. Virgin carrying dead Christ ; (c) stoning of Stephen.

20. (Probably the oldest bit of glass) Virgin carrying Child. (Very good head in bit underneath).

21. Korah, Dathan and Abiram—fire devouring them, and earth opening and swallowing them—this is square and round-headed.

22-27. St. Peter and cock ; the others have names underneath, viz. :—S. Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Paul.

Inscription at foot of window as follows :—

On orange, between two blue bands.

*Huic Ecclesiæ | Roden Comes | Sanch Patricii |
 illustrissimæ Ordinis | Hono dedit | Eques A.D. 1812*

"Sanch" is a mistake for "Sancti."

All former copies of the inscription have inserted "A.D." before the date.

The letters A.D. are undoubtedly there and we have added them.

Inscription on Tablet in the Vestry :—

ECCLESIA HÆC TEMPORIS
 ET BELLII INIVRIA PENITUS
 DIRVTA, FORMA NOVA
 ET ELEGANTIORI INSTAVRATA
 FUIT ANNO CHRISTI 1707
 RADOLPHO LAMBERTO, S.T.P.
 VICARIO.
 HENRICO BVSH }
 GEORGIO LOW } CVSTODIBVS.



A Projected History of County Louth

BY MAJOR-GENERAL STUBBS.

MAJOR-GENERAL STUBBS had begun a History of County Louth, which would probably have been a very valuable work, but he only completed the first chapters.

The prospectus with which he prefaced the MS. shows the scope of what he had projected, and fortunately most of the materials he collected for the History remain in the various extracts from the annals, lists of place-names and of county families and official parish compilations which he had made. These he left to Mr. Garstin, and Miss Garstin has given them to the Society.

Most of the first chapters are taken up with a sketch of the General History of Ireland, inserted to make the necessary setting for the events recorded of County Louth.

We publish here all that is not general or has not been already detailed in other versions in previous numbers of the JOURNAL.

Sketch of Prospectus—

HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF LOUTH

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL F. W. STUBBS, R.A. (retd.).

PROBABLE CONTENTS :—

- Chap. I.—EARLY HISTORY.
- „ II.—CHIEFTAINSHIPS.
- „ III.—CATTLE PREY OF COOLEY = Táin Bo Cuailgne.
- „ IV.—A.D. 1-1200
- „ V.—A.D. 1200-
- „ VI.—A.D. — MODERN TIMES.
- „ VII.—COUNTY FAMILIES—PEDIGREES.

ABBEYS AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES :—

Dromiskin.	Dunléer.	Kilsaran.
Louth.	Drumcar.	Dundalk.
Inniskeen.	Termonfeckin.	Ardee.
Monasterboice.	Drogheda.	Carlingford.
Faughart.	Mellifont.	

A separate part under these heads. Views of some remarkable ones.

PARISH HISTORIES :—

About 37—several having no histories, and some which have very brief ones.

CHIEF ANTIQUITIES :—

Barrows and Rathes.	Cromleacs.	Round Towers.
Stone Monuments.	Standing Stones.	Crosses.

Lists of these ; descriptions ; drawings of only the most remarkable.

INTRODUCTION.

Physical Features and Early History. Contains nothing unfamiliar. An account of the mountainous, hilly and level areas of the county, the heights of Slieve Breagh, Ugainé Mor's division of Ireland into 25 parts among his 22 sons and 3 daughters assigning Muirtheimne to Cobhthach Mian ; the Roads of Tara.

CHAPTER I.

CONTENTS :—Earliest names of Co. Louth—Lugh Magh and Magh Muirtheimhne. Colgan translates Lugh Magh as *Campus herbidus*, "the grassy plain"—Nemed's clearance of the forest which covered Magh Muirtheimne—The Milesian Chiefs, Fuad and Cuailgne—Cormac Mac Airt—Battle of Crinna—Conclusion in Battle of Dromiskin—Cormac's bestowal of the southern portion of the County, from Dromiskin southward on Tadhg Mac Cein, hence named *Feara Ard Ciannacta*—The Oirgialla—Priliveges of the Kings of Oirgialla.

[TEXT OF]

BATTLE OF CRINNA—BATTLE OF DROMISKIN.

Art the Ard Ri, son of Conn Cead Cathach, was killed in the battle of Magh Mucruime near Athenree A.D. 195. Cormac his son, surnamed Ulfada or Long Beard, wished to secure to himself the title which had passed from his father to his cousin Lughaidh. This was disputed by *Fearghus* Dubh-deadach, king of Ulster, and Cormac sought the assistance of Tadhg Mac Cein, son of Cian, and grandson of Oilioll Olum, who was lord of Ely. Fearghus defeated Cian and his brother Eocha near Tara, but Cormac with Tadhg coming up, overcame him in a fierce battle at Criona¹ in Breagh. The story is told in the tale called *Cath Criona*. Fearghus was killed. His army retreated fighting in the direction of *Droma-ionas gluin* (Dromiskin), where they made their last stand. The spot where this last fight took place can be identified with tolerable certainty. It is called by Dr. Keating (p. 122) *Glaise an Earra*, by others *Glais Neara*. Close to the village of Dromiskin, on the borders of, and running into the townland of Newrath, which still in its Irish form preserves the old name (pronounced *Nyaghra* [rather *Negira*, g hard as in "peg."²—*Ed.*] Newrath is probably an incorrect form) in a ridge the undulations of which readily catch the eye as favourable for a force taking up a defensive position facing southward. The names of *Mullaghlinn* = "hill of the sword," *Cros-na-fuile*, bloody cross, and *Cleggan-dinne*, hill of the skulls, close to which a large quantity of skulls and bones were discovered some ninety years ago, all within the range of half a mile corroborate the local tradition of a great battle having been fought here. Cormac was then acknowledged as Over King and to reward the services of his ally he granted

1.—Criona or Crinna, the site of this famous battle has not been identified. It is believed to be somewhere about Slane.

2.—Accent on first syllable as if *neigiorra* (Irish) or as *negirra* (English).

him a territory extending from the river Liffey to Glais Neara near Dromiskin, but not including Tara, which, as the royal seat of the monarchs of the north, and of Ireland, it may be supposed was inalienable. This territory took the name of Ciannachta from Tadhg's father Cian. That portion of it which lay within the County of Louth will be described in the next chapter. Cormac fought another battle at Faughart about twenty-two years after, but with whom, or on what account is not stated.

THE KINGS OF OIRGHIALLA.

The Leabhar na gCeart or Book of Rights throws some curious light upon the relations between different chieftains dating perhaps from very early times and handed down by tradition, though as Dr. O'Donovan shows, some of it must be long subsequent to St. Benéan, disciple and successor to St. Patrick at Armagh, by whom the metrical part of the book purports to have been written. In it we seem to see the oppressive exactions of bonaght, kernety, gallowglass, and musteron, degenerating into the coyne and livery and the cosherings of later days. In this book we are told that the king of Cashel on his way to the country of Uladh was bound to give the king of the Oirghialla, eight coats of mail, sixty tunics and sixty steeds, in return for which he was to be entertained at Emhain and thence escorted to the Ulster men. The privileges of the Kings of Oirghialla are important. They were not bound to attend a hosting of the Supreme King of Ireland except for three fortnights every third year; and then not in either spring or autumn. They received seven cumhals (bond women) for every man of them lost on that hosting; and they were bound to make restitution in the seventh part only; and they were not bound to pay for the theft they might commit if the thief's oath denied it. Their hostages were not bound in fetters or chains, they were upon their oath to the king. At a banquet the king of Oirghialla was entitled to a seat on the right hand of the king of Tailte,¹ and all the rest were the length of his hand and sword from the king. The two queens were assigned similar precedence. With regard to the hostages their privileges were so important, they are recited at length and twice over, and they were unusual, showing the high rank claimed and accorded to the race of the Clann Colla.

Here it is; I shall tell to you
The history of the race of fair Cairbre
Hear, ye people of the Fians,
The grand stipend of the Oirghialla.

Entitled is the majestic King of Oirghialla
From the King of Eire of the benign countenance
To free hostageship—generous his engagement
To stipend and presents

Nine hostages [are given] to the King of Fodhla truly
By consent of the King of the Oirghialla, together
To be kept by the King of Tlachtgha² in the East
Without incarceration and without fettering.

1.—Tailte=Tailtean, Teltown—meaning King of Tara.

2.—Hill of Ward, near Athboy.

A befitting attire for them,
 A steed ; a sword with studs of gold
 Secret confidence, elegant apartments
 For the comely hostages of the Oirghialla.

Withering³ upon them if they elope thence
 Still worse for the King who will put on the fetter
 Save that, no one is entitled to aught
 From the illustrious King of the Oirghialla⁴.

In a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin,⁵ we are told that the hostages, when fettered, were bound in golden chains, and that the name "Oirghialla of the golden hostages" was thence derived. Such was the position in the North held by the races that gave Louth a name which it held for several centuries.

CHAPTER II.

CHIEFTAINSHIPS OF LOUTH.

We have seen that the part of Ireland now called Louth belonged to three separate chieftainships from a very early period, two of which extended considerably beyond the limits of the present county. These were :—

Cuailgne (Cooley)⁶ in the mountainous district in the north-east.

Conaille Muirtheimhne, part of the kingdom of the Oirghialla. (8)

Ard-Ciannachta, part of the district of Cianacht stretching over a great part of Meath and the north part of the county of Dublin.

The physical features of the country had, as usual, the principal share in defining the different districts. The range of mountains separating Carlingford Lough from the bay of Dundalk are similar in their formation and mineral character to the Mourne Mountains on the north side of the former inlet, extending into the county of Down.

CUAILGNE.

The district in which the igneous and metamorphic rocks occur contains as much interesting matter for discovery and description crowded into a small area as there is to be found in any part of the British islands.⁷ The Carlingford range

3.—A curse.

4.—Book of Rights, p. 135-155.

5.—H. III, 18, p. 783.

6.—Dr. O'Donovan did not think much of the dialect of the Irish-speaking people of Louth. It appears in his remarks scattered about the Ordinance Letters. In the letter on Carlingford, written by himself, (Messrs. O'Keeffe and O'Connor wrote most of the rest for the county), he says :—

"But how is Cuailgne now Anglicised? It is disguised in the name of the district immediately W. of Carlingford Bay—Cooley!! and in Irish Cuailgne. It is to be remarked that throughout this county the sound of *ng* is changed to *z*, as *peanngan* to *peazgan*, a pismire; and *peanngan* to *peazgan*, a string, and in like manner *cuailgne* to *cuailze* according to analogy. But like Fanaid and Doc in Tirconnell, Cuailgne, which was anciently a territory of considerable extent,* is now only a small district, comprising the southern half of the parish of Carlingford."

7.—Director General Geological Survey, dated Dublin. 18th August, 1877. See Explanatory Memoirs to accompanying sheets of the maps.

(a) NOTE.—In his article, the Ancient Territories of Oirghialla, Ulad and Conaille Muirtheimne, in the 1912 JOURNAL Rev. L. O'Murray shows that Conaille Muirtheimne, including Cuailgne was a more or less free kingdom in alliance with Ulad and acknowledging a kind of *de jure* suzerainty in the king of Ulad as the head of the ancient race—the Ruricians—to which its people belonged.—EDITOR.

* On Norden's map of the country between Lough Erne and Dundalk, the whole tract from Dundalk to Newry is called Cooley.

forms part of a once volcanic region stretching west as far as Slieve Gullion. The sedimentary rocks consist of carboniferous limestone and sandstone, and lower silurian beds, the latter highly metamorphised some times in contact with granite; basalt, dolerite and other igneous rocks occur plentifully. Atmospheric agency has in the course of ages clothed the hills with vegetable soil watered by the streams oozing out of the crevices of disrupted rock. The valleys running down to the sea on either side afford abundant shelter, and those on the southern slopes are mild and genial even in winter.

This will fully account for the fact that as far back as we have any account the hills of the region of Cuailgne were noted for the feeding and rearing of cattle, and there are few spots whence the eye of an observer cannot see here and there those curious little raths or forts generally circular or nearly so and ranging from a diameter of 20 or 30 to one of 90 feet surrounded by one or perhaps two earthen parapets within which the herdsmen sought shelter at night from beasts and too often by day had to defend themselves when the spoilers came to prey.

The district of Cuailgne at one time seems to have formed a part of Uladh. This appears from two passages; one in the tract prefixed to the Book of Rights:—

Let the King of Ulad hear his prerogatives,
To him with honour they were given
The games of Cuailgne, [and] the assembling of the swift fleet
The mustering of his host in Muirthemhne.⁸

The permission to hold games and their control being a royal prerogative. Again we find the king of Ulster called king of Cuailgne⁹—a name which was never in use in the county of Down, the true Uladh of later times.

Connected with Cuailgne was the county of the Ui Meith;¹⁰ but not the whole of it. Deriving its name from Muireadach Meith, grandson of Colla da Crioch, there were two small territories, one called Ui Meith Tire, from being inland, containing the present parishes of Tullycorbet, Kilmore and Tehallan in the county Monaghan; the other called Ui Meth Mara (Maritime). Neither were extensive. Colgan says "Hui Meith Tire quoe est orientalis Ultoniæ regiuncula." Ui Meith Mara lay entirely in the mountains, and in fact was a part of Cuailgne. It is now represented by the parish of Omeath, which is a small one, consisting of ten townlands. When, in the annals, the "king of Ui Meith" is mentioned, which is not often, the inland division is meant. So also in the Book of Rights, where it is written:

Entitled is the King of the Ui Meth, the hero
Now the King of Macha of great meetings
To your swords, your drinking horns,
Your cloaks, your iron-grey steeds.

The district of Cuailgne and Ui Meith never had any history of its own,¹¹ and whatever chiefs there were who ruled it were not considered of sufficient importance to be recorded in the annals. They not improbably were subordinate to the chiefs of the neighbouring districts, as these were best able to protect them against the spoiler.

8.—Geasa agus buadha—*Book of Rights*, p. 15.

9.—*Book of Rights*, n. 159.

10.—The word Ui (plural of Ua, a grandson) prefixed to the name of a man represents his descendants; but by a species of metonymy also represents the country inhabited by them. By "descendants" or its equivalent term "the race of," not only the actual progeny of the individual is meant, but also that of his followers—his clan in fact.

11.—See however the article of Rev. L. O'Murray in 1914 JOURNAL, "Omeath."

CONAILLE MUIRTHEIMHNE.

The baronies of Upper Dundalk and Louth with most of Ardee formed, as has before been said that part of the great territory of the Oirghialla called generally Conaille Muirtheimhne. Carboniferous and silurian rocks form a gently undulating surface, for the most part covered with a good depth of productive soil. The level land south of Dundalk is an alluvial plain, a raised seabed which more particularly deserves the Irish name Sraid Baile, lying close along the seashore. Of actual bog there is not much, what there is in small patches except on the W. and W.N.W. of Ardee.

Imagination travelling back to more than a thousand years before our era, or when ever it was that the feet of men first trod this ground, can easily conceive a dense forest of oak, hazel and pine, home of the Irish elk,¹ covering it. Its clearance, partial no doubt, is one of the earlier facts recorded in the annals. Since then it has always been good for tillage, and its farms are always likely to bring a good price in the market. Its historical annals are perhaps not as full as those of some other parts of Ireland, but the following list of the chiefs who ruled over it for four hundred years show that its importance was considerable :—

CHIEFS OF CONAILLE MUIRTHEIMHNE.

(Corresponds with the list already published in 1912 JOURNAL, by Rev. L. O'Murray.)

ARD CIANACHTA.

Towards the southern end of the county, a line of low hills, of which Slieve Bregb in the parish of Killary, county Meath, is a high point (B.M. 753) on that flank, forms a watershed running in a north-easterly direction to Belpatrick in the parish of Collon, where it attains its highest elevation (B.M. 789) ; then easterly through the parishes of Monasterboice and Drumshallon to Clogher. Mount Oriel (B.M. 744), Crockscully (B.M. 465), a point near the monastic ruins of Monasterboice (B.M. 405), Carnanbregba (B.M. 435) and Castlecoo (B.M. 346) mark this ridge. In two of these names we can recall the old designation of the plain, Magh Breagha, which extended to the south, into the present county of Dublin. From Monasterboice a lower spur extends in a N.N.E. direction towards Salterstown. The part of the country through which this ridge and its spur run is nearly coincident with the present barony of Ferrard, a district once occupied by the Feara Ard Cianachta (the Men of Ard Cianachta), from which circumstance the name of the barony has been derived. The origin of the name Cianachta has already been stated.

This territory having by the gift of Cormac been severed from the rest would have formed part of a very extensive chieftainship, but as it belonged to a different race of men from the inhabitants of Breagh, Meath and Dublin, it naturally came to be a separate and smaller one under the name of Ard-Cianachta.

Keating says that from Cian son of Oilill Olum was derived the family of O'Connor [of] Cianachta, which name would thus appear to belong to the district.

The geological features of this part of the country are not very marked. The rocks consist chiefly of lower silurian formations in the Dunleer and Clogher districts, and in the Ardee and Collon district with some carboniferous limestone between Ardee and Smarmore. The latter furnishes an abundance of good lime.

1.—Their horns have been found in different places. A pair discovered at Greenmount is now in the hall of Drumcashel, the residence of Arthur Macan, Esq. Those mentioned by Wright (*Louthiana* Book III, plate xxii) probably came from the neighbourhood of Dunleer and Dundalk.

The names of the chieftains who ruled over Ard Ciannachta as given in the annals do not appear to be complete, and they only come down as far as the middle of the tenth century when most of it probably merged into Muirtheimhne. The name Cumascach we see from the text which follows was a common one. It survives in the present name of Cumisky, which belongs to Louth; and it is to be found in Cumisky's Cross in the parish of Mosstown.

CHIEFS OF FEARA ARDA CIANACHTA.

- Conall Deaig son of Daimini. He was father of St. Endaus of Arran.
660. Ceannfaeladh, son of Geirtidi, slain in battle between Dermot and Blath Mac son of Aedh Slaine.
686. Dubhduinbher, killed at the battle of Imleach Phich, near Kells.
733. Aenghus, son of Ailell died.
771. Domhnall, son of Fogartach died.
774. Muireadhach, son of Aenghus slain.
- 781 [786]. Ceallach, son of Cormac died.
- 812 [817]. Dunghal died.
820. Cumascach, son of Tuathal, slain by Murchadh.
827. Cinaeh, son of Cumascach, wounded by the foreigners.
838. Cumascach, son of Conghalach died.
853. Muireadhach died.
876. Aenghus, son of Cinaedh died.
891. Cumasgach, son of Muireadhach slain by Ulidians 895 Ann. Ulster.
954. [956]. Cormac, son of Cathalan, killed by Danes along with King of Ireland.

CHAPTER III.

THE CATTLE PREY OF COOLEY.

Gives a full narrative of the Táin.

CHAPTER IV.

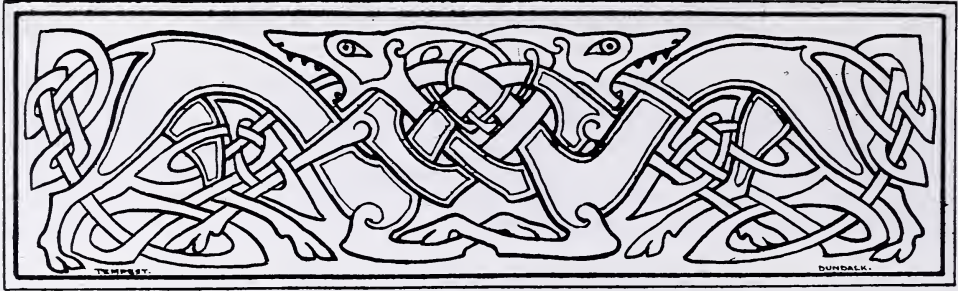
GENERAL HISTORY OF IRELAND AND LOUTH FROM 1 A.D.

The unfamiliar details and extracts from the Annals will be given in next number of the JOURNAL.

COUNTY FAMILIES—PEDIGREES—ABBEYS AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES—PARISH HISTORIES.

The materials collected for these will be catalogued in next number.

CHIEF ANTIQUITIES—Lists prepared in next number.



Stone Monuments of Louth.

THE GIANTS' GRAVES AT GRANGE, CARLINGFORD, FROM MAJOR-GENERAL STUBBS' MS. HISTORY OF LOUTH.

ANTIQUITIES.

The northern end of the county is that which is richest in prehistoric remains. The boulder-strewn surface of the ground readily afforded the materials for the lithic structures which marked a period anterior to the advent of Christianity. But the destroying hand of man has obliterated nearly all of them. Even within this century, when history formed part of the education of children at village schools, men careless of what they did and thinking only of a paltry gain, broke, rooted or dug up remains which might have given us information on many of the most interesting points connected with the ancient religion of the Irish.

Wright in his *Louthiana* has preserved all that we now can learn of some of them, in the plates that illustrate his work. Unfortunately, the descriptions that accompany them are so meagre, and an acquaintance with Irish history and the Irish language is so completely wanting,¹ that his antiquarian zeal, great as it undoubtedly was, would have been quite thrown away without them. But they luckily give a very good idea of what they represent.

CROMLEACS.

The cromleac in the townland of Proleek, and close by the grounds of Ballymascanlan House, three miles north of Dundalk, is a well-known object to all tourists in those parts. A name once given to it,² the Cloch an Bhodaigh, Clown's Stone, has no known origin. "The Giant's lift," or "load" by which it is better known, takes us into the region of legend and of stories repeated in other counties besides Louth, of the distance to which giants were capable of throwing these huge boulders. It is of granite and supported on three blocks of the same rock. Fionn MacCumhaill is, or used to be, the giant who threw this stone. According to Dr. Keating, Hector Boetius who wrote a history of Scotland said that Fionn was 15 cubits high.

The ordnance map³ marks another cromleac not far off in the townland of Aghnaskeagh, but upon what authority I have been unable to discover. It is not

1.—In describing the remains at Killin, which he calls "Killing-Hill," he says, "The name rather speaks . . . as signifying slaughter" (Killin = a little church, or a white church), and he quotes an Irish story (Plate V., Book III.) about a giant called Parrah bough M'Shagjean.

This is the same as the Scotch giant quoted by Messrs. O'Keeffe and O'Connor (Ordnance Letters, Louth, Ballymascanlon) as buried in Proleek.

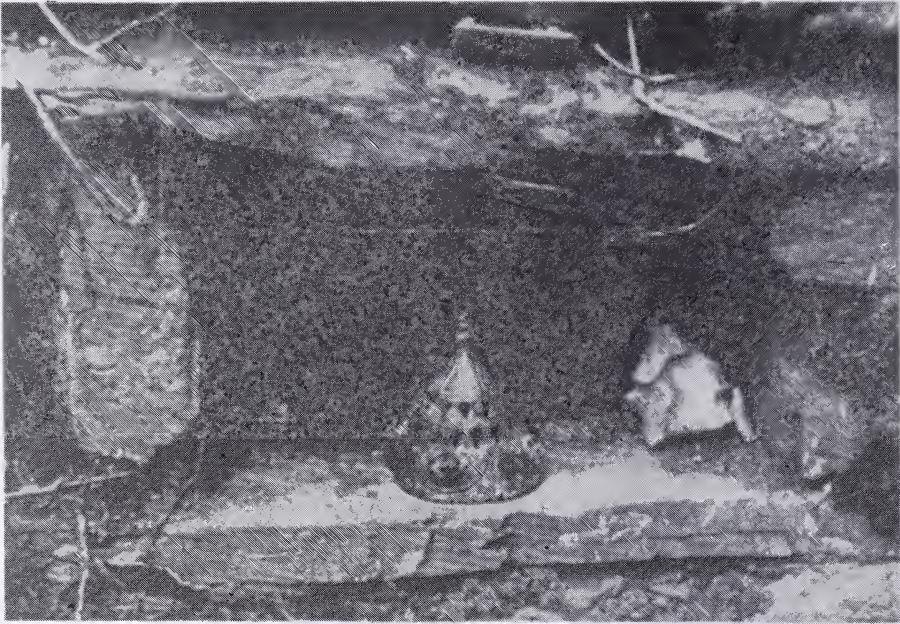
2.—Ann. Q.M., A.D. 1452.

3.—Sheet No. 4 Six inch scale.

(The map (1911 edition) marks two cromleacs, one in the grounds of Annaskeagh House and one at the north end of the T. L. near Slieve Feede.—ED.)



STANDING STONES AT BALTRAY,
(Photo by Mr. Magrath).



Recess in southern wall showing thurible cover found during excavation.



General view of east end of Church while excavation was in progress, showing position of altar.

**RUINS OF OLD CHURCH AT BALLYBARRACK, DUNDALK,
Where Blessed Oliver Plunkett officiated.**

mentioned in the ordnance letters or name books, and no one now living seems able to say that there was one. The spot is thickly covered with granite boulders which may have been collected there for many purposes. But in the small townland of Killin in the parish of Kane there was one associated with other remains which will be presently described.

STONE CIRCLES.

There were six of the stone circles commonly supposed to have been places of druidical worship, all of them north of Dundalk, for five of which we must refer to the plates in Wright's *Louthiana*. They are :—

Balregan T.L., parish of Castletown.

Bally na Hattin, parish of Dundalk.

This is described by Mr. Wright as being in the plain of Ballynahatny.

Carrickbroad, is in Co. Armagh.

Killin T.L., parish of Kane.

There were two stone circles here on twin eminences close to the house now belonging to J. D. Bell, Esq.

Lurgankeel T.L., parish of Faughart.

Ravensdale Park.

On the right of the avenue leading up to the house from which it is distant only 400 yards south by east. Eight upright stones form the inner circle or rather oval with interior diameters of 24 and 14 feet. Five other stones, of which two are lying down, would seem to have been part of an outer oval, if completed, of about 76 by 60 feet ; but as the slope of the hill on which it stands falls rapidly on the western side, its original shape is uncertain.

KISTVAENS—GIANTS' GRAVES.

Close beside the Proleek cromleac is one of those sepulchral cairns or kistvaens which are sometimes found beside cromleacs. They are often termed from their size "Giants' graves." Another remarkable one is "Calliagh Virra's House" in the townland of Paddock, [parish of Monasterboice, described and figured by Mr. George V. du Noyer in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, Vol. V, Second Series, p. 497.

There are several of these "Giants' Graves" in the County Louth. They all consist of an oblong space from twelve to fifteen or even seventeen feet in length, enclosed with flagstones or flattened boulders set on edge. About three feet wide at one end and enlarged at the other to four or four and a half feet ; some have been covered over with flagstones like Calliagh Virra's House. Others, like the Proleek one, have only a single slab covering the larger end.

At the east end of the Carlingford range there are two groups of these kistvaens, one in the townland of Grange, which lies east of Grange Cross about 700 yards. Two of the kistvaens lie close together on the 500 feet contour line and are very interesting ones, but, like the others, have been sadly dismantled. They are separated by a loose stone wall, in the construction of which doubtless damage was done to both ; one is 16 feet long by about 6 broad. At the north end of it lie several large slabs and smaller stones which certainly seem to have been arranged as a cromleac. The other one lies at right angles to the first, and is complete. The

breadth of the existing end is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. About 300 yards N.E. of these is a third one, also a good deal dismantled, and so covered up with weeds and rubbish as to be somewhat difficult to find. Its dimensions were about 17 by 5 feet.

About 1,000 yards due north of this group is another between 600 and 700 feet above the sea, just outside Grange Irish and within the Commons of Carlingford. It consists of two, lying end to end in a NN.W. direction, but so dismantled and covered with grass and ferns that with all the boulders lying about they are not easy to find. Their interior dimensions seem to have been 15 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Whose tombs are they? Chiefs who fell there in some plundering raid, or defending their possessions? Or do they mark the graves of kings who were gathered to their fathers after years of peaceful rule. I fear the pleasant thought must be dismissed, and the other put in its place. Then when were the dead warriors laid there? Probably before it became the custom to raise up a lofty cairn over the deceased. The cromleacs with some of these kistvaens are associated with that megalithic age which are linked in our thoughts with an era when as yet druids were not known. But for the tumuli, of which some were apparently sepulchral monuments, one can hardly help connecting the earlier ones with the dying wish "Let me be buried standing with my arms in my hands and facing the foe." As enquiry picks up facts it may be found that at the time when the masculine queen of Rath Cruachan made her celebrated raid into Louth, earthen barrows had become customary marks of the place where some chief found the rest he had never during his life sought for.





The Death of Patrick Fleming.

EDITED BY HENRY MORRIS.

THE tragic death of Patrick Fleming early in the eighteenth century was widely lamented in Meath, Louth and Monaghan, and the following lament made to commemorate the tragedy has continued to be sung almost down to the present day—for a space of two hundred years. Hence it has earned for itself—quite apart from the theme—a right to be recorded in our Journal.

As the oral versions now obtainable are scrappy and fragmentary, the song as here given is compiled from three Irish MSS. :—

- (1) The "Bardic Remains of Louth," a MS. now in my possession, but compiled by Matthew Moore Graham of Dundalk, about 80 years ago.
- (2) Nicholas O Kearney's MS. in the Royal Irish Academy, numbered 23 E. 12.
- (3) A MS. numbered XVII in the Belfast collection, written (presumably) by Hugh MacDonnell about the middle of the last century.

I have also seen other MS. versions which I cannot at present consult.

The version in (1) and (2) contain 12 verses each, but only nine of these are common. The Belfast MS. has only 8 verses, and of these only three are common to the Dundalk copies. From the inconsistencies of the metres it is clear that the song has suffered a good deal of corruption. Some of the verses appear to be later additions, very probably by O'Kearney.

My experience of O Kearney is that as a scribe he is untrustworthy. The genuine scribe was as a rule faithful to his copy. O Kearney wrote with a view to publication, and he frequently dresses up his materials and puts his own stamp on them—not always an improvement in my opinion. Neither should I rely absolutely on the details he gives in his explanatory notes. But as far as the main features of this tragic episode are concerned they are beyond all doubt.

I cannot tell who is the author of the Elegy. A pencil note in the Belfast MS.—added I conjecture by Robert MacAdam—says "by *Brian Tailliur* (perhaps)."

This is not very satisfying. The song should be found in some of Galligan's MSS., Galligan being a Meathman and a voluminous scribe.

The Belfast MS. says in a note "The first poem in this book is eight verses of the Elegy of Patrick Fleming, son to James Fleming of Sydden, barony of Slane, Co. Meath. He was represented as being one of the *Ceithearn Coilleadh* [Wood Kern], and a price having been offered by the government for his head, he was murdered by the Tory-hunters of Ardee, his head cut off, and sold to the government, as was many of the Irish nobility of these days, for it was no uncommon thing under William the Third's government to commission men to erect a gallows to execute

travellers and strangers, whence arise these splendid epithets *Tunnlaibhead na zceann*, and *peardar na zceann* (i.e., Townley of the Heads and Peter of the Heads) . . . This was the Townley who hanged Mr. Dromgoole of Dromgoolestown Castle, Co. Louth.

This 'Townley of the Heads' had a gallows at Turtle Hill near his own demesne and kept a hangman himself. [He had] another [gallows] at Paddy Gray's wood, two miles from Ardee and two miles from Drumcondra in Co. Meath. Peter English *peardar na zceann* was his disciple and hangman there. The people to this day [about 1850] feel timid to travel by night in either of these places. But to return to the illustrious family of the Barons of Slane . . . we learn from the poet that Patrick Fleming was married to a Mary O'Neill. He was not believed to be a Tory or Robber, but was reputed [as such] by the government, as he was holding his property by force. When a price was offered for his head, he took refuge in the house of Conn MacMahon, where he was betrayed to what is called the *Ceitharn Mharusgall*, otherwise the 'Marshal's Band.' It is said that MacMahon's sister *Catherine zearr* (short Catherine) wetted the powder in his arms, thus leaving him unable to defend himself. It is a remarkable tradition among the people that those who murdered Fleming never prospered afterwards. It is also believed that [since the murder] the air is never clear over Ardee, but still (= continually) a black cloud hands over it."¹

Lengthy notes are given of the episode in both O'Kearney's and Graham's MSS., but these notes, though somewhat fuller and more detailed in the former, are practically the same in substance, for Graham and O'Kearney worked in collaboration. Indeed, it is not improbable that "The Bardic Remains of Louth" though styled "Collectanea Grahamea" were really compiled by O'Kearney. The English style of the latter was long-winded and rhetorical, so instead of giving the notes of the MSS. in full, I will give the substance in condensed form.

Patrick Fleming is conjectured to have lived about 1709, and as a boy took some part in the war on the side of James II, or at any rate was supposed favourable to the Jacobite cause. Not this, however, but an untoward circumstance which happened later was the cause of his ruin. "Three young men said to have been in Mr. Fleming's employment, rescued some cattle belonging to a neighbour, and maltreated the bailiffs in effecting the rescue"; warrants were issued; the men evaded arrest and were outlawed. Fleming tried in vain to procure their pardon. As a last resource he forged a pardon for the men, signed as it purported to be by a relative, "the people say an uncle who was Chief Justice."

The forgery having been exposed and the signature repudiated, Fleming himself was now outlawed, and put upon his keeping. He fled to the mountains and soon a number of men in similar circumstances to his own gathered around him, and acknowledged him as their chief. Though he now led the predatory life of a *ceitearnac coillead*, he neglected no opportunity of getting his powerful friends to obtain a pardon from the government. "It is traditionally related" that a pardon was granted to himself, but that he held out for a pardon for his comrades also. While this latter was being re-considered by the government, a Tory-hunter resolved if possible to earn the promised reward. Even if he failed to get the "blood money" he anticipated no punishment for compassing the death of Fleming, the latter being a Catholic.

1.—"Ardee with the black cloud over it" was a common phrase with the last generation, but is now almost forgotten. The origin given here was not known in surviving local tradition. The only explanation I could ever get for it was the additional tag "where they killed the priest," which some old people gave, but they could tell nothing of any incident of the kind.—Ed. *L. A. Journal*.

Conn Fada (Tall Conn) MacMahon kept a "shebeen" in the townland of Miascaish near Inniskeen, in Co. Monaghan; Conn was also a dealer in yarn and Connemara stockings. The Tory-hunter learned that Fleming and his men frequented this place, so he bargained with Conn for their betrayal. MacMahon was to invite Fleming and his band on a certain day. The invitation was accepted; Fleming came attended by six of his followers. The Tory-hunter came also, with another band and noticed with delight that MacMahon was "digging sods on the green hill above the house." This was the pre-concerted signal which told that Fleming and his men were enjoying themselves inside. Catherine Gearr (MacMahon's *wife* according to O Kearney) freely supplied liquor to the outlaws, and also managed unnoticed to pour water down the muzzles of their guns. While the house was being surrounded one of Fleming's party escaped by a back-window, but the remaining six were captured after a fierce struggle, in which they discovered to their horror that their arms had been rendered useless. They were immediately taken out to the back of the house and beheaded, the heads placed in a turf-creel and carried off while the bodies were thrown into a dyke where they lay untouched for three days. With them also was beheaded "a poor innocent lad who sold tobacco and who happened to lodge in MacMahon's house."

According to the "Bardic Remains" the judge of assize before whom the heads were brought was a relative of Fleming's, and instead of granting the reward claimed, severely censured the Tory-hunter for killing a man whom the government had pardoned, and caused the patronage of the government to be withdrawn from the family.

Some time afterwards this same judge—Fleming's uncle "'tis said"—presided at Trim where MacMahon's son was arraigned for horse stealing. The judge charged the jury dead against the prisoner, the latter was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged "on the morrow" says one MS., and "that same day" says the other. So that it was commonly believed at the time that no MacMahon could escape hanging in Trim for almost any crime. The murderer's clan faded away after this. Conn MacMahon died "an ignominious death," and O Kearney claims to have seen his grandson. And "on the spot where these men were beheaded neither grass nor weeds nor anything green grew from that time up to this."

O Kearney claims no authority for the song or the history beyond traditional narration—the event being over a hundred years old in his day.

MAIRGEAC PÁDRAIS FLÉAMONN¹

I. (2)

Ó éirigiú a mhá ó zác áro de éirinn,
 Δzur ceanaib mur bpáirc zan rpár
 le céile,
 Sneadais mur lámá inr na zártaib
 zéara,
 nó zo nzuileá rib an bár rin pádrais
 fléamonn,

Ir oc, ocón! (3)

II. (4)

Δ pádrais fléamonn, Δ éiride na
 húrre, (5)
 Δ mhé Séamuir an tSibeann, ir Δ
 oisre na dúitce;
 Zan élaideam, zan bioicéa, nó upéar
 puздair,
 Δ bainreab úrriam ar zalluib le
 bata dá rúrzaó, (6)

Ir oc, ocón!

III. (7)

Ca ucéidim féin zo Miorcair i mbárac,
 Zo cois Coinn fáda mar nbearnaó
 an t-ár úo,
 Flucaó sunnaí, ir tarraingeab
 lámác,
 'S an cupaó bí tpeán 'ré mo léan
 tú Δ pádrais,

Ir oc, ocón!

IV. (8)

I Miorcair féin Δ rinneab an ró-
 zoin, (9)
 Cuireab reabé zcionn i zcliaó na
 mónaó,
 Ir na corpa zeala 'cóir Δ beic i
 zcómraibíó,
 Bí na luige inr na oiozacaib ó 'Dia'p
 oaoín zo 'Dóinnac,

Ir oc, ocón!

V. (10)

Δ máire ní héill ir trom do cóulaó,
 Ir pádrais fléamonn i noéir Δ
 pollaó, (11)
 Aisge na boadais' nár zab bairreab,
 Aniar ó 'Baile ác fíriosa na feille, (12)

Ir oc, ocón!

VI. (13)

Dá bpeicteá-ra Máire dul i néadan
 an tpeibe,
 Δzur veoraóa alluir le na héadan,
 Cuireab ré tpuaisge ar mháib na
 héireann,
 Δz ceabé (14) zo córriam pádrais
 fléamonn,—

Ir oc, ocón!

VII. (15)

Nuair Δ éuaib rí ruar air cóircéim
 rcaisre
 Cia tarla uiréi ác pádrais fléamonn;
 Bós rí Δ lámá, ní bpuair rí Δ béilin,
 ác colann zan éionn, ir ba móir an
 rzeal rin:

Ir oc, ocón!

VIII. (16)

Δ pádrais fléamonn ó 'éas tú, Δ
 cupaó, (17)
 'Deanraim féin (18) do fáit de éulaib,
 Síosa zo bhois Δzur ríóil zo huillin,
 Δ zaoil na n-iarla aniar ó lonn-
 duinn, (19)

Ir oc, ocón!

IX. (20)

Δ pádrais fléamonn na zpuaisge
 báine,
 Sé mo éreac zéar nac nbeacaib tú
 ar fáile,
 Cum na ffraince le tpeire do láime,
 Nó congnam cozaib le Rí z na Spáinne,
 Ir oc, ocón!

X. (21)

Tá zean Δsam féin ar 'Dia ir ar
 Máire,
 'S air na ceitpe rearaib véas de'n
 ceitearn coille,
 Ar pádrais fléamonn na zpuaisge
 zile,—
 Znát leobta zlar-luacair i mbpuac
 zác coille,

Ir oc, ocón!

LAMENT FOR PATRICK FLEMING.

[TRANSLATION.]

I.

Arise, ye women, from every *art* in
Ireland
And take your share without delay
With clapping of hands, and screams
of woe,
In weeping the death of Patrick
Fleming,

Och, ochone !

II.

O Patrick Fleming, heart of generosity,
Son of James of Sydden, and heir to
his patrimony,
Without sword or pistol or powder shot
You could humble and smite the Galls
with a stick,

Och, ochone !

III.

I'll not go to Miscash to-morrow,
To the house of Conn Fada where yon
slaughter was made :
(There) guns were wetted, and shots
were fired
And the hero that was brave, is the
cause of my grief—

Och, ochone !

IV.

In Miscash indeed was wrought this
slaughter,
Seven heads were cast into a turf-creel,
And the bright corpses that should be
put into coffins
Lay in dykes from Thursday till
Sunday,

Och, ochone !

V.

O Mary O Neill heavy is your sleep,
And Patrick Fleming after being
riddled [by shot]
By the unbaptised bodachs
Who came from Ardee of treachery,

Och, ochone !

VI.

Behold Mary (now) going by the mount-
ain slope,
The beads of sweat on her brow—
It would put grief on the women of
Ireland—
To see her coming to Patrick Fleming's
funeral—

Och, ochone !

VII.

When she had climbed up the stairs
Who should confront her but Patrick
Fleming :
She kissed his hands, she could not
find his mouth,
For a body without a head was he—
shocking the tale,

Och, ochone !

VIII.

O Patrick Fleming since you are dead
'Tis I myself will make your dress
(for the grave),
Silk to your feet, and satin to your
waist,
O kinsman of the éarls who hailed
from London,

Och, ochone !

IX.

Patrick Fleming of the fair flaxen hair
'Tis my bitter woe that you did not
cross the water
To France, with your prowess of hand,
Or to assist in war the King of Spain,

Och, ochone !

X.

I have love for God and for Mary,
And also for the fourteen men of the
wood-kern,
And (particularly) for Patrick Fleming
of the bright locks—
Oft was their bed in the green rushes
of the wood,

Och, ochone !

XI. (22)

Δ ῥάσῃαις ῥλέαμονν βα μόν αν
 ουνε tú,
 Σαοιλερ ῥέιν ζυρ μαρκαδ μιρε tú,
 Βα ciaróeam óir i nóórn ζαδ ουνε
 tú,
 Ir ir món α' bearna an a ceitearn
 coille tú,

Ir oc, ocón!

XII. (23)

Ir món an rζéal, ir ir món an
 βεαδ⁽²⁴⁾ é,
 nac fá na bnaoζail⁽²⁵⁾ a euairó cum
 an trléibe,
 ζαρ-ζαοι na n-iarla, ῥάσῃαις
 ῥλέαμονν,
 Δετ fá rζníobad παροúιν ἐμύρ οε
 na ζαεθεαλαιβ—

Ir oc, ocón!

XIII. (26)

Τά θατε Δε ῥίρσρια φαοι εαδραδ βána,
 Ir inζean an ῥιοβαραιζ Δζ ῥόζλuim
 λάμαιζ,
 Ir tá re ῥuar an ῥáipeimó βána,⁽²⁷⁾
 "ῥάσῃαις ῥλέαμονν Δζ iarraió
 párouim"—

Ir oc, ocón!

XIV. (28)

Δ ῥιοβαραιζ lúβαραιζ,⁽²⁹⁾ a βοοδαιζ
 ζαν eolar,
 Ir coramail nac 'ran tír ro ruζad
 nó τόζαδ tú,

Οο leit-éann muice an beazan
 ζυαιρε,⁽³⁰⁾

Ir nar pa paδa ζo bfeicφeap an ruaiζ
 oir—

Ir oc, ocón!

XV. (31)

Δ ῥιοβαραιζ liobaραιζ,⁽³²⁾ loctaiζ⁽³³⁾
 bpeaζaiζ,

Cá bpuil na ribini nó na péarlai,
 Cap ζad na ríodai oaoipe ζῥεάζαδ',
 ná na fáinni oír a bí an a méapa?

Ir oc, ocón!

XVI. (34)

ζo mba peact, ζo mba hoct, ir ζo
 mba méapa i ζcionn na bliadna,
 Δ véap Cairtim Colla Δζur⁽³⁵⁾ Conn
 fáδa an iarua,⁽³⁶⁾

Δζur Cairtín ζeapn, ó rí rinne a
 oioζbáil,

Δ cuir an t-uirge i nζunnáib an
 máreaiζ ῥialtáir;

Ir oc, ocón!

XVII. (37)

Δr ionad an áir bioδ tnom-ῥrué
 anróiζ,

Δit an tpaρζnaδ cuρairó le feill r
 ainceapn;

Ir náρ εiζiró na óiaió rin ζope nó
 anδap,

nó riu péap óζ a ó' iopaδ ζamna—
 Ir oc, ocón!

XI.

O Patrick Fleming, you were truly
 great,
 I regarded you as a wondrous horse-
 man,
 Your presence was as a golden sword
 in the hands of every one (of us),
 Your death will cause a great gap in
 the ranks of the wood-kern,
 Och, ochone !

XII.

'Tis a terrible tale, and a terrible
 calamity,
 Though you did not go to the mountain
 (on your keeping) for the sake of
 thieving,
 You kinsman of earls, Patrick Fleming,
 But for writing a pardon for three
 Gaels,
 Och, ochone !

XIII.

The town of Ardee is under (the sway
 of) a troop of white horse,
 And the murderer's daughter is learning
 to shoot :
 It is posted up on white papers that
 " Patrick Fleming seeks his pardon "—
 Och, Ochone !

XIV.

O deceitful villian, you ignorant churl,
 It seems you were not born or reared
 in this land,

(With) your pig's cheek sparsely covered
 with bristles,
 And may it not be long till you are
 swept away—
 Och, ochone !

XV.

O thick-lipped traitor, malicious and
 lying,
 Where are the ribbons and pearls ?
 Whence disappeared the dear beautiful
 silk ?
 Or the gold rings that were on his
 (Fleming's) fingers ?
 Och, ochone !

XVI.

Seven times, eight times worse at the
 end of the year
 May Captain Colla be and Conn Fada
 of the hanks,
 And Catherine Gearr, 'tis she did the
 evil deed,
 Put water in the guns of the generous
 horsemen :
 Och, ochone !

XVII.

On the scene of the slaughter may there
 be a heavy stream of ill-fortune,
 The place where heroes were cut down
 by treachery and injustice :
 Crop or corn may it never grow there,
 Nor even short grass that calves might
 eat :
 Och, ochone !

NOTES.

In these notes the three MSS. from which the poem is taken will be referred to as follows:—

The "Bardic Remains" = A.
O Kearneys's MS. = B.
The Belfast MS. = C.

- 1.—The victim's name is always spelled *pléimionn* in A and B.
- 2.—This is verse 1 in C; not found in A or B.
- 3.—The refrain is 'S uc! uc! Cunn in A; 'S oc onn ó in B, and 1r ó éo Cunn in C. This latter is a phonetic rendering of the correct form.
- 4.—This found only in C as verse 5. It resembles 3 in A.
- 5.—úire, liberality, generosity, from úr, noble, liberal, generous.
- 6.—Rúrζαó, smiting, tearing, beating.
- 7.—This is verse 1 in A and B; not found in C.
- 8.—This is 2 in A, 8 in B; not in C.
- 9.—r6-émeac in B.
- 10.—This 3 in A, 5 in B, and 2 in C.
- 11.—Δ εοτλαó in A and B.
- 12.—Lines 3 and 4 are from C; A and B give them thus:

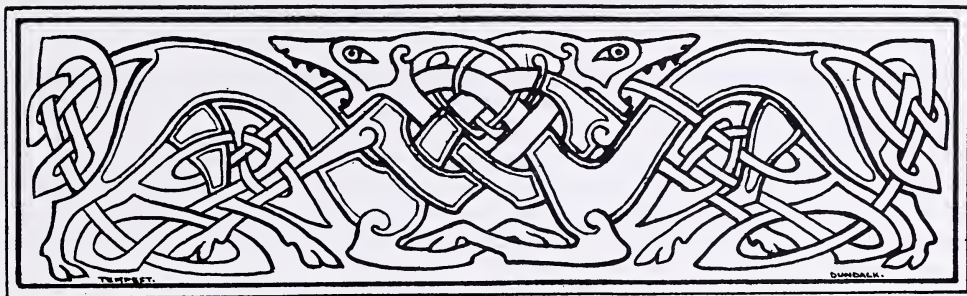
Δετ muna b'é an τ-uirze cuiréacó 'rna sunnaib
Óairéacó ré urraim ar clannaib ζαλλα.

- 13.—This is 4 in A, 7 in C; absent in B.
- 14.—Δζ ουl in A. Δ τελετ is likely the correct form.
- 15.—Occurs as 5 in A, 6 in B, absent in C; B puts this verse in the mouth of Fleming's wife.
- 16.—This is verse 6 in A, 7 in B, and 4 in C.
- 17.—má o'éas tú in B: ó o'éas an múllig (= mílú) in C.
- 18.—O'airéneóóainn réin in A and B.
- 19.—Cruall zo lonsoin in A and B.
- 20.—Occurs as 7 in A, 4 in B; absent in C.
- 21.—This is 8 in A, 3 in B, not found in C.
- 22.—Only found in A as verse 10.
- 23.—Only found in B as verse 10.
- 24.—Beac, bad news, injury.
- 25.—Bmαζαil, act of thieving.
- 26.—This is verse 11 in A, 2 in B; not found in C.
- 27.—1r é rζmíobta ríor ar, &c., in B.
- 28.—Only found in C as verse 3.
- 29.—Lúbdmác, evidently a variant of tubdmác, shifty, tricky, deceitful.
- 30.—ζαuiré, rough hair, bristles.
- 31.—Only found in C as 6. It resembles 9 in A, and 12 in B, which runs thus:

ruair Δ éuaió Δ éeann i látau rúrur na héimeann,
ζmeao ré Δ boya 1r sunne ré éas-éloin,
"Δ ríobdmáiz bmadáiz lúbaiz bmeázaiz
Cá noeacáio ná rúbin Δ bí 1r ná réarúai?"

- 32.—Líobdmác, thick-lipped.
- 33.—Loótauiz, "malicious" says a pencil note in MS.
- 34.—Only occurs in C as verse 8, but resembles 9 in B, which is

Sé bain na otau ar énoc an rúbin
Oo énar mo éuráio, mo émáioibin doibinn:
nam béilz 1r rúinnt éoinn fáoa ná n-iarua,
1r caiteun ζeair ó rí sunne an oiozbaí.
- 35.—This is plainly the Captain Coll MacMahon who erected in 1729, the cross still preserved in a wall at Inniskeen. He may have been a relative of Conn Fada's.
- 36.—iarua, hanks of yarn.
- 37.—Only found in B as verse 11. It is evidently a variant of verse 12 in A.



The Coronation of Edward Bruce.

THE question of the Coronation of Edward Bruce at or near Dundalk is one of deep interest to antiquarians. We have it on authority that Edward Bruce assaulted Dundalk on the 29th June, 1315. In an interesting article, "The Bruces in Ireland," in the *Ulster Archaeological Journal* (old series, Volume V) an account is given of the forcing of the Moyra Pass and the assault of Dundalk, "the valiant Randolf who put him fyrst ay till assayes" alighting with his knights from horseback forced the perilous passage on foot and drove out the enemy . . . The Englishry of the country which Bruce had now reached were gathered in force within the walls of Dundalk, and the Scots marching on drew up in array against the town "with banners all dis playit"; a reconnoitering party sent out by the inhabitants returned and declared to their great comfort that the Scots would be but "half a dinner to them." But the assault was so vigorous that the "rewys" (rues or streets) flowed with the blood of defenders and were soon cleared of all living by the assailants, who then made great cheer, having found a profusion of victuals and great abundance of wine. Elated with the first success in the English Pale the triumphant warriors crowned their leader King of Ireland on a hill near the town in the simple national form in which his brother had been inaugurated at Scone."

Dundalk was stormed on the 29th June, 1315, and the Scots, perhaps hearing that the Viceroy was about to march against them, quitted walls for woods and moving westward reached a "gret forest." Bruce then proceeded south, and afterwards retraced his steps and held at Dundalk a great assembly in which he was solemnly elected King of Ireland.

The ceremony of inauguration seems to have been performed on Knocknamelan, within a mile of Dundalk, while a solemn consecration took place in one of the churches of the town.

Surrounded by all the external marks of royalty Bruce established his Court in the Castle of Northburgh, one of de Verdon's fortresses adjoining Dundalk, where he took cognizance of all pleas that were brought before him—(*Darcy Magee's History of Ireland*, p. 231).

There are consequently four questions for investigation: (1) Where is Knocknamelan? (2) Where was the great assembly held at Dundalk at which Robert Bruce was elected king? (3) Where was he solemnly consecrated? (4) Where was the Castle of Northburgh?

All the authorities agree that Edward Bruce was crowned on Knocknamelan, which means hill of the bald or bare dun or fort. No such name is at present known in the district. Three hills appear to me to be reasonably worthy of examination

as being the site of the coronation. It appears that it was upon the success of the assault on Dundalk that Bruce was crowned King of Ireland on Knocknamelan near Dundalk.

On the summit of the hill of Faughart is an artificial mound composed of earth-work in the form of the frustrum of a cone. Wright, in his *Louthiana*, supposes that it was originally a funeral monument and afterwards used as a beacon or fort, either as an outpost to defend the frontier or to signal the approach of an enemy. It is well adapted for either purpose, and situated on the confines of the county near the formidable Bealach-an-Moirie or Moyry Pass, was very probably used as a watch-station. D'Alton, in his *History of Dundalk*, says there was formerly an octagonal building on the top of this mound. In a description of the Battle of Faughart from an Irish manuscript by Brian Geraghty, published in the *JOURNAL of the Louth Archæological Society*, Vol. I, it is stated that after they (the Scots) had taken the fortress of Dundalk they proclaimed Edward Bruce supreme King of Erin on the hill of Maeldun, where the Gaels and Scots were then encamped. Further on, in describing the battle of Faughart, he says, "The Gaels and Scots put themselves into battle array on the brow of the hill of Faughart near the spot or place where Bruce was proclaimed King of Ireland two years before." This would clearly point to the mound of Faughart being the scene of inauguration, as it is on the top of a hill where the Scottish army put themselves in battle array. It is a bald or bare dun or fort, and though apparently built on, may have been quite bare at that time. It is considerably over a mile from Dundalk and some say half a mile, but distances in early records are generally much underestimated, and it seems to me, on the authority of this manuscript, that the mound on Faughart hill holds the premier place as the Knocknamelan referred to by all historians.

In the article already referred to, the writer says there are discrepancies as to when and where he was first invested with majesty. He goes on to say that Archdall in his *Peerage* (Volume III, p. 33) quotes from Lodge's Collections that Bruce was crowned by the Irish and that the ceremony took place at Knock ne melon within half a mile of Dundalk. The annalist, Grace, says the Scottish invader was crowned by his men without naming the place. He adds that the probability was that after the first burst into the Pale and the victory over the Saxony at Dundalk the Albanach and Erinach in their ardour of triumph inaugurated Bruce in their national manner on a hill near the town.

There is a mound at Lurgankeel known as Mount Albani or the Scotsman's Mound, but beyond the significant name I have discovered no authority to identify it with Knocknamelan.

Dundealghan has also claims. Rev. Fr. Fagan, P.P., recalls a tradition that Clonmellan was the old name for Castletown. Clon (*recte* Cluain) means meadow. Hence Clonmellan might mean the meadow of the bald fort, and may have been the flat ground between Dundealghan and the sea. Dundealghan would present attractive features as the site of a Coronation, and is within the distance referred to.

In reference to the question of the great assembly, I have always heard the tradition that Bruce was crowned in Francis Street, Dundalk, and the house now occupied by Mr. Murphy is pointed out as the scene of the Coronation. It was not, however, within the town that the ceremony of Coronation took place, but on Knocknemelon. Barbour, in his *Metrical History of Robert Bruce*, says:—

At Kilsaggart Sir Edward lay
And well soon he was heard say
That at Dundalk was assembly
Made of the lords of that country

This would clearly point to the assembly referred to by D'Arcy Magee.

When Dundalk became the frontier town of the northern marches of the Pale, strong walls and other defence works protected the garrison.

According to a map showing the Town of Dundalk in 1675, High Street appeared to be the principal street of the town and the junction of the roads to Drogheda and Donaghmore. A second map shows the town of Dundalk as laid down by Robert Richardson in 1680. At the junction of Park, Earl and Frances Streets there appears a castle, formerly called Mortimer's Castle, sometimes King's Castle and later Castle Cumberland, which would be on the site of the present tavern occupied by Mr. Murphy, and is still known as "Bruce's Tavern." According to these maps it was one of the most pretentious castles in the town, and the most probable place where a great assembly would be held.

I venture to give the opinion, therefore, that local tradition is right in respect to this site; but that in the course of ages the tradition became corrupted and confused, and the real fact is that the great assembly at which Edward Bruce was elected King was held in a castle situated in the street at present known as Francis Street, but that the ceremony of Coronation was not held there.

The present Episcopalian Church of St. Nicholas', Dundalk, was in pre-Reformation days the Parish Church of the town. I have been told that parochia records went back as far as 1207, but were destroyed. Richard FitzRalph, known as "St. Richard of Dundalk," was born in Dundalk about the end of the thirteenth century, and is said to have been buried in the churchyard. We further have the thirteenth century seal of the new town of Dundalk, recently found in the churchyard.

I understand that the building was burned about 150 years ago and that the tower is practically the only surviving part of the old building. It is probable, therefore, that in this church Edward Bruce was solemnly consecrated.

The Castle of Northburg is difficult to locate, but I think it is likely to have been Castletown Castle or Castletown-Bellew. According to D'Alton a castle is said to have been erected here as early as 1297 A.D., which was occupied by Edward Bruce in 1316, but the present edifice was more probably built by Richard Bellew in the 19th year of Edward IV. In considering this question apart from D'Alton's statement, the strategic position of the castle is important. It commanded the pass to Dundalk, called in Irish Cloghan or the Ford of Dealgan. This was the great battle-ground between the Anglo-Normans and Irish for several centuries. The sea then allowed but a narrow approach to the town on the north side. It was long before the Droichead-more or the great bridge was built. A strong current flowed by the Ramparts to Littlemills or Donnelong enclosing the land as an island and leaving an unflooded space on the north called to this day Islanmore or the great Island. This marsh was crossed on the west by a tochar, which still gives its name to the field adjoining Lord Roden's Demesne on the west. Consequently this would be the natural place for Edward Bruce to hold his court, being a strong castle guarding the territory.

P. L. MACARDLE.



Early Partitions of Ireland.

FROM LEABAR GABALA AND KEATING.

There is no tradition recorded of any division of territory having been made between Fintan Beth and Ladhra, who accompanied Cesair in her taking possession of Ireland before the Deluge.

FIRST DIVISION. Partholan, the first settler after the Deluge made a four-fold division of the country for his four sons :—

1. From Aileach in Derry to Dublin, a north-east province.
2. From Dublin to Cork—Oilean Mor an Bharraigh, Barrymore Island in Cork Harbour, a south-east province.
3. From Cork to Galway—to Maaree, now Clarin-bridge, a south-west province.
4. From Galway to Aileach, a north-west province.—(*Keating ; not given in L. Gabala*).

SECOND DIVISION. Of the Nemedians. Made by the children of Neimhedh, a three-part division :—

1. From Tory Island to the Boyne. O Tornis co Boinn mBraein-sreabhaigh mbruthaigh, ccaomhslemain coir cclothhaigh—"from Tor Inis to the Boyne of swirling water, eddying, fair smooth, comely, famous.
(*Poem of Eochaid O Floind in the Leabar Gabala.*)
the territory of Beothach, grandson of Neimhedh.
2. From the Boyne to Cork—Bealach Conglais.
3. From Cork to Tory Island—the whole west.

THIRD DIVISION. Of the Firbolgs. Five provinces.

1. Leinster, from Drogheda to Waterford. "From Inbher Colpa to the meeting of the three rivers."—(*Leabar Gabala*)—the kingdom of Slainge from whom Slane took its name.
2. North Munster (more correctly east Munster) from Waterford to Cork.
3. South Munster (more correctly west Munster) from Cork to Limerick.
4. A Western Province. Limerick to the river Drowes, the boundary between Leitrim and Donegal, just south of Bundoran.
5. Ulster, from the Drowes to the Boyne, O Drobaois co Boinn mbraenaigh, "from Drowes to the dewy Boyne," the kingdom of Rughraidh.—(*Poem of Tanaidhe. O Mael Conaire in Leabar Gabala*).

FOURTH DIVISION. Of the Milesians.

The *Leabar Gabala* gives a two part division between Eremon and Eber :—

1. North Ireland, from *Srubh Brain* to the Boyne—the kingdom of Eremon.
2. South Ireland, “from the eternal Boyne” to the wave of *Clidna* (*Kinsale*)—the kingdom of Eber.—(*Poem in Leabar Gabala*).

Keating relates this division as the opinion of some antiquaries, but favours the version of other historians of great authority, of a three-part division:

1. Ulster, apparently the *Firbolg* province—the modern province with the inclusion of Louth, from the *Drowes* to the Boyne, the kingdom of Eber, the son of Ir, brother of Eremon and Eber Fionn.
2. Leinster and Connacht, from the Boyne, to Eremon.
3. The two Munsters to Eber Fionn, the cantred of *Corcaluighe* in Cork being reserved for *Lughaidh*, son of Ith.

Keating adds that some historians tell of a division of Ireland by Eremon after his defeat of Eber at *Gusiol* (*Geashill*) into four parts among four of his commanders—Leinster, the two Munsters, Connacht and Ulster, but of course without any curtailment of his own sovereignty over the whole island.

FIFTH DIVISION, that of *Cearmna* and *Sobhairce*, A.M. 2870, about 130 years after Eremon, brothers, great-grandsons of Eber son of Ir, first Milesian king of Ulster and great great grand-nephews of Eremon. They were the first of the Ulster line of Ir to obtain the throne of Ireland, which they held jointly for 40 years ; they made a division of the kingdom :—

1. The northern half from *Inbher Colpa*, the mouth of the Boyne to Limerick for *Sobhairce*, who built the fortress of *Dun Sobhairce-Dunseverick* in Antrim.
2. The southern half, south of this line from *Drogheda* to Limerick for *Cearmna*.

DIVISION OF UGAINE MOR, KING OF IRELAND A.M. 3586 into 25 parts for his 22 sons and 3 daughters, *Muirtheimhne* (boundaries not defined) being one part and assigned to *Cobhthach Mian*.

THE DIVISION OF ECHAIÐH FEIDHLIOCH A.M. 3940, the father of Queen *Medhbh* of Connacht.

Of him Keating says : *ἵ ἔ ῥο ὁο ῥῶἰἰἰ ἵ ῥ ὁο ὀῥῶἰῤ ῤἰῤῥῶἰῤ ἄ ῥ Ἐῥἰῥἰἰ ἄ ῥ ὁῤῥῥ*.

O'Connor translated this “was the first that laid out the division of the Irish provinces.” *Dineen* : “first divided Ireland into provinces and instituted provincials.”

In face of Keating's previous accounts of the many earlier divisions of the country, including the five previous partitions of the *Firbolgs*, this statement seems ridiculous unless we take it to mean, what the words and the subsequent list of the chiefs to whom he gave territory, suggest—a sub-division of some of the existing provinces and the appointment of different chiefs to each area.

The sentence that follows is “For he divided the province of Connacht into three parts between three, namely—

“He gave moreover the province of Ulster to *Fearghus Mac Leide*,” Leinster to another and the two Munsters each to one chief.

There is no definition of the boundaries given except the sub-division of Connacht, which show *Drowes* still its northern limit, so the earlier ones cannot have been altered.

The formation of the royal territory of Meath by Tuathal Teachtmhar, out of a portion of each of the provinces of Leinster the territory about Tara, of Munster that about Flachtgha of Connacht that around Uisneach, and of Ulster that around Tailte.

THE DIVISION OF CONN CEAD CATHACH AND MOGH NUADHAT—a two-part division, made by the Eiscar Riadha line of sandhills from Dublin to Galway—the northern half Leath Cuinn being Conn's kingdom and southern Ireland—Leath Mogha—the kingdom of Mogh.

Professor Eoin MacNeill's version of the actual divisions of territory that existed at different periods in ancient Ireland and of the history of their alterations will be fresh in the minds of readers of his recent study, and his argument, built so carefully with native tradition extracted from the literature, is original and convincing.

He accepts the division into five states or fifths,—Cuigidhe—narrated by the official historians as in truth of every ancient origin, and as prevailing at the time of our Lord and up to a hundred and fifty years after. But he discredits the traditional account of the contemporaneous existence of an over kingship of all Ireland, and regards the five kingdoms as separate states with no over-ruling Ard Ri till the reign of Cormac Mac Airt in the third century A.D. He also shows grounds for rejecting the usual enumeration of the five kingdoms of the Pentarchy as Ulster, Leinster, Connacht and the two Munsters, and classifies them instead into (1) Ulster, extending, of course, to the Boyne; (2) North Leinster or the Tara kingdom, from the Boyne to the south of Co. Dublin and Co. Kildare; (3) South Leinster thence to the Blackwater, with Dun Riogh at Leighlin Bridge Carlow, as its royal seat, and comprising the dioceses of Ferns, Ossory and Leighlin, along with most of Co. Tipperary and Waterford and a bit of Limerick; (4) Munster—the reputed two Munsters—a small part of Waterford and Tipperary, the most of Limerick, and the whole of Cork and Kerry; and (5) Connacht from the Drowes, along the Shannon to its mouth, including Co. Clare.

Ossory was afterwards transferred to Munster in penalty for the slaying of King Ederscel, the father of Conaire Mor, in the first century A.D.

The first stage in the break up of this long-established Pentarchy and in the development of an all-Ireland monarchy was Tuathal Teachtmhar's (a Connacht king) securing a part of the North Leinster kingdom about Uisneagh. This is recounted by historians as the formation for himself as Ard Ri of a new kingdom of Meath.

Cormac Mac Airt, his great-great grandson, practically founded the single monarchy of all Ireland by winning Tara over a hundred years later. The disintegration of the other provinces followed in the century after from the uprise of new families and from conquest, and at the coming of St. Patrick the old Pentarchy had been replaced by a system of seven distinct kingdoms with a national over-kingship of the Ard Ri.

This heptarchy, which lasted for many centuries, is detailed in the Book of Rights and consisted of Aileach, Oirghialla, Ulaidh, Meath, Leinster, Connacht and Munster. The earlier Ulster province had been carved or formed into the three kingdoms of Aileach, Oirghialla and Ulaidh by the invasion of the Three Collas and by the settlement of the sons of Niall Naoi Ngiallach.

In earlier numbers of this JOURNAL the question has been discussed whether Co. Louth or parts of it belonged to the kingdom of Oirghialla or Ulaidh, or Breagh. The previous opinion, which O'Donovan seems to have accepted was that the Oirghialla included the whole country. Father O'Murray put forward another view

in the 1912 number, that only the portion around the town of Louth belonged to Oirghialla,—that the greater part of the territory of the county formed the sub-kingdom of Conaille, more or less independent of, but admitting a suzerainty in Ulaidh of County Down.

Professor MacNeill supports this view—(p. 185) “The eastern side of Ulster [occupied by the Clann Ruraigh of Conor MacNessa’s race on their expulsion from central Ulster by the Three Collas], nominally constituted another chief kingdom, which was regarded as the remnant of the ancient Ulster. It seems, however, to have consisted of four practically independent kingdoms :—Dal Riada, on the Antrim seaboard, Ulaidh on the Down seaboard, Dal Araidhe (the inland parts of Down and Antrim and the Derry side of the Bann valley), and Conaille, a Pictish kingdom in the north of county Louth.”

The boundary of ancient Ulster of the Emhain kingdom from the sea at Donegal Bay [the river Drowse] to the head of the Shannon from Lough Bo Derg through the southern part of Co. Leitrim, thence in the direction of Granard and on by the present boundary of Ulster (Cavan) eastward to the Blackwater at Trim, along the Blackwater to Navan, and from Navan along the Boyne to the Irish Sea—(p. 112).

The formation of the kingdom of Meath by the Connacht kings, Tuathal Teachtmhar and Cormac Mac Airt’s gradual conquest of North Leinster and by the latter’s defeat of Ulster at the Battle of Crinna, left the Boyne no longer the southern boundary of Ulster, but annexed to Meath, Tadhg Mac Cein’s new chieftaincy of Fer Ard Ciannachta—the southern part of Louth from Dromiskin to the Boyne. Professor MacNeill speaks of this area as the district from Ardee to the Boyne, but Fer Ard Ciannachta does not seem to have come so far west. “Meath,” he says (p. 113), “had a northern boundary nearly the same as the present northern boundary of Leinster, but it took in part of Co. Cavan and excluded the northern part of Co. Louth north of Ardee.” (p. 129): “The Connacht dynasty and its branches [of which the Oirghialla, the Colla clan were one] now (A.D. 400) ruled over the northern half of Ireland with the exception of the eastern seaboard region from Ardee to the Giant’s Causeway”—that is, the kingdom of Conaille and Ulaidh.

The kingdom of Aileach, apparently founded or at least secured by the Ui Neill, the immediate descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, consisted in the fourth century of the County of Donegal and probably also Cairbre’s County—the northern limb of County Sligo—the present County Tyrone and most of County Derry then belonged to Oirghialla, but were afterwards annexed to the kingdom of Aileach (p. 185).

Of Ulaidh, the part of the old Ulster kingdom of the Clann Ruraigh which was not absorbed in Oirghialla or Aileach, MacNeill says (p. 185)—“The eastern side of Ulster nominally constituted another chief kingdom which was regarded as the remnant of the ancient Ulster, and so is sometimes called by chroniclers the Fifth or Conchobar’s Fifth. It seems, however, to have consisted of four practically independent kingdoms, no one of which held any permanent authority over the others. These were Dal Riada, in the north-east on the Antrim seaboard, Ulaidh on the Down seaboard, Dal Ardidhe at the head of a Pictish people, occupying the inland parts of Down and Antrim, and also the Derry side of the Bann valley from Lough Neagh northward to the sea, and Conaille, likewise a Pictish kingdom, in the north of County Louth.”

But in the half century before the Norman invasion the O Carrolls, kings of Oirghialla, had obtained power over at least a great part of Conaille Muirtheimhne or southern Louth, as is shown by Donough O Carroll’s lordship of the district of Mellifont and Termonfechin in 1140-1150.

Yet Father Murray quotes a sentence from the annals at 1154 A.D., which enumerates Conaille as a territory coequal in status with Oirghialla, Ulaidh, Meath, Breifne and Tir Eogain. [Or could this be Conaille in Derry as it occurs in their list between Ulaidh and Tir Eogain?]. The people of the district itself must have applied the name Oirghialla to the whole south of the county at the coming of the Normans, for the latter used the name Uriel immediately for the whole county, inclusive of the part adjoining Drogheda.

p. 122: The territory that fell to Tadhg Mac Cein's share extended along the coast from Ardee to Dublin, and inland along the northern frontier of Meath to Loch Ramor.

BREGIA, BREAGH.

Bregia, a part of the kingdom of Meath, would seem to coincide with and to be the now prevailing name for the Ciannachta with the addition of Tara, ("Temair Breg," Tara of Breagh), which was artificially excluded from Tadhg Mac Cein's chieftaincy. The name seems to be more a geographical description than a political division. Its only occurrence in a partition of territory that I find is at the Ard Ri Dearmait O Cearbhaill's division of the kingdom of Meath between his two sons: "Midhe proper, i.e., Westmeath and most of King's County and County Longford" to Colman, and "Bregia—County Meath and parts of Louth and Dublin" to Aidh—(MacNeill, p. 235).

The Ciannachta as a chieftaincy cannot have remained for many generations in the hands of the descendants of Tadhg. Bregia was not apparently terminated on the north by the Slieve Breagh hills that run from County Meath, by Smarmore, Collon and Fieldstown to the sea. Two fragments descriptive of the territory of the kingdom of Meath, used but badly misread by Keating were published by Father Paul Walsh in the *Archivium* for 1912, which gives additional proof of the inclusion of south Louth in the kingdom of Meath.

In the first Bregia ends at Annagassan. "The territory of Meath I shall describe to you and the territory of powerful Breagh. . . . the men of Breagh as far as the Casan."

The second extract runs:—

"The following is the border of Meath as Tuathal Teachtmhar ordained—as the river Liffey goes from Dublin to the river Rye (at Leixlip) (a detailed list of boundary points to the Shannon, and thence north to Lough Bo Derg and east by Mohill to Mucshnamh [Muckno, Castleblayney], thence to Slieve Fuaid, to Meigh at Killeevy on E. slope of Slieve Gullion "and from that to the harbour of Snamh Aighnech" (Carlingford) and from that to the sea, and from that to the river Liffey again."

"Thirteen tribes are in Meath and five tribes in Breagh outside."

The extension of Breagh to Slieve Gullion and Carlingford seems less accurate than the first version, which bounds it at Annagassan. Both are evidence that Breagh, a province of the kingdom of Meath, included a large part of Co. Louth.

It would be of interest if some competent student would compare these statements with the references to the kingdom of Conaille and to the territories of Oirghialla during the same centuries, and suggest an interpretation that would reconcile them.



Louth Members of the Irish Parliament.

(An addition to the List on page 311)

The long intervals during which no Parliaments were held are shown in the following extracts from the Commons' Journals. Until the passing of the Octennial Act a Parliament lasted for the life of the sovereign, unless he chose to dissolve it as he might at any time and summon a new one. Thus there was an interval of twenty-seven years between the closing of Perrot's Parliament in 1586 and the opening of Sir John Davies' Parliament of James I in 1613, and nineteen years between it and the next. The Parliament of George I lasted for his whole reign as also that of George II for his 33 years

IRISH PARLIAMENTS.

<i>Commencement.</i>	<i>Conclusion.</i>
26th April, 1585 (Perrot's Parlmnt.	14th May, 1586.
18th May, 1613.	24th October, 1615.
14th July, 1634.	18th April, 1635.
16th March, 1639.	30th January, 1648.
8th May, 1661.	8th August, 1666.
7th May, 1689. |	20th July, 1689.
5th October, 1692.	26th June, 1693.
27th August, 1695.	14th June, 1699.
21st September, 1703.	6th May, 1713.
25th November, 1713.	1st August, 1714.
12th November, 1715.	11th June, 1727.
28th November, 1727.	25th October, 1760.
22nd October, 1761.	28th May, 1768.
17th October, 1769.	5th April, 1776.
18th June, 1776.	25th July, 1783.
14th October, 1783.	8th April, 1790.
20th May, 1790.	11th July, 1797.
9th January, 1798.	31st December, 1800.

NAMES OF MEMBERS RETURNED TO SERVE IN THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND.

CO. LOUTH.

1759-60	{ Rt. Hon. William Henry Fortescue. Thomas Tipping, Esq.
1761-68	{ James Fortescue, Esq. (in place of his brother Wm. Henry Fortescue Stephen Sibthorp, Esq. [created Baron Clermont.]
1769-75	{ John Foster, Esq. James Fortescue, Esq.

ARDEE.

- 1759-60 { Robert Parkinson, Esq.
 { John Ruxton, Esq.
- 1761-68 { John Ruxton, Esq.
 { Charles Ruxton, Esq.
- 1769-75 { John Ruxton, Esq.
 { George Lowther, Esq.

CARLINGFORD.

- 1759-60 { Robert Ross, Esq.
 { William Townley Balfour, Esq.
 { Blayney Townley Balfour, Esq. (in room of said William Townley
 { Balfour, deceased. Sworn 18th Jan., 1760.)
- 1761-75 { Robert Ross, Esq.
 { Blayney Townley Balfour, Esq.

Years.

DROGHEDA.

- 16th Oct., { Francis Leigh, Esq.
1759-68 { John Graham, Esq.
- 1769-75 { Francis Leigh, Esq.
 { William Meade, Esq.

DUNDALK.

- 1759-60 { Thomas Fortescue, Esq.
 { James Fortescue, Esq.
- 1761-68 { Robert Waller, Esq.
 { David La Touche (the younger).
- 1769-75 { Robert Waller, Esq.
 { James Shiel, Esq.

DUNLEFR.

- 1759-60 { Thomas Tenison, Esq.
 { Anthony Foster, Esq.
- 1761-68 { John Foster, Esq.
 { Dixie Coddington, Esq.
- 1769-75 { Dixie Coddington, Esq.
 { Robert Sibthorp, Esq.

LOUTH.

- 1775 { John Foster, Esq.
 { Right Hon. James Fortescue.
- 1779 { Right Hon. James Fortescue.
 { Right Hon. John Foster.

- 1782 { Right Hon. James Fortescue.
 Right Hon. John Foster.
 Thomas James Fortescue, Esq. (in room of said Rt. Hon. James Fortescue, deceased. Sworn 19th July, 1782.)
- 1786 { Rt. Hon. John Foster (Speaker of House of Commons).
 Thomas James Fortescue, Esq.
- 1796 { Rt. Hon. John Foster, Speaker.
 William Charles Fortescue, Esq. (in room of Thos. James Fortescue, deceased. Sworn 30th January, 1796).

ARDEE.

- 1775 John Ruxton, Esq.
 George Lowther, Esq.
- 1776 Francis McNamara, Esq.
 Peter Metge, Esq.
- 1786 Charles Ruxton, Esq.
 William Ruxton, Esq.
- 1790 William Parkinson Ruxton, Esq.
 John Wolfe, Esq. (of Newlands).
- 1799 Charles Ruxton, Esq.
 William Ruxton, Esq.
 William Parkinson Ruxton, Esq. (in room of said Charles Ruxton, who accepted office Escheator of Ulster. Sworn 8th Feb., 1799).

CARLINGFORD.

- 1775 Blaney Townley Balfour, Esq.
 Robert Ross, Esq.
- 1776 Thomas Knox, Esq.
 Theophilus Blakeney, Esq.
- 1781 Hon. Thomas Knox, Esq.
 Theophilus Blakeney, Esq.
- 1786 Rt. Hon. Sir John Blaquiere, K.B.
 Thomas Coghlan, Esq.
- 1790 Sir Charles Desvoeux, Bart.
 James Blaquiere, Esq.
- 1799 Richard Mageniz, Esq.
 Sir James Lighton, Bart.

DROGHEDA.

- 1775 Francis Leigh, Esq.
 William Meade Ogle, Esq.
- 1776 William Meade Ogle, Esq.
 Sydenham Singleton, Esq.

- 1786 Henry Meade Ogle, Esq.
John Forbes, Esq.
- 1796 William Meade Ogle, Esq.
John Forbes, Esq.
John Ball, Esq. (in room of John Forbes, who accepted a Place of Profit under the Crown. Sworn 5th December, 1796).
- 1799 John Ball, Esq.
Edward Hardman, Esq.

DUNDALK.

- 1775 Robert Waller, Esq.
James Shiel, Esq.
- 1776 Robert Waller, Esq.
William Conyngham, Esq.
- 1779 Sir Robert Waller, Bart.
William Conyngham, Esq.
- 1781 William Conyngham, Esq.
Robert Lindsay, Esq.
- 1786 Hon. Robert Jocelyn (commonly called Lord Viscount Jocelyn).
Hon. George Jocelyn.
- 1796 Rt. Hon. Robert Jocelyn (called Lord Visct. Jocelyn).
Hon. George Jocelyn (re-elected, having accepted a Place of Profit under the Crown. Sworn 3rd February, 1796).
- 1799 Hon. John Jocelyn.
John Stratton, Esq. (in room of Hon. George Jocelyn, deceased. Sworn 22nd January, 1799).

DUNLEER.

- 1775 Dixie Coddington, Esq.
Robert Sibthorp, Esq.
- 1776 John Thomas Foster, Esq.
William Thomas Monsell, Esq.
- 1786 John William Foster, Esq.
Henry Coddington, Esq.
- 1790 Nicholas Coddington, Esq.
Hon. John Foster (not the Speaker, but a cousin).
- 1793 Nicholas Coddington, Esq.
Hon. Thomas Henry Foster (in room of Hon. John Foster, deceased. Sworn 10th January, 1793).
- 1799 Henry Coddington, Esq.
Hon. Thomas Henry Foster.
- 1800 Henry Coddington, Esq.
Hon. Thomas Henry Foster.
Quintin Dick, Esq. (in room of Mr. Coddington, who accepted Office of Escheator of Munster. Sworn 12th February, 1800).

An interesting addition to this list is supplied by the following extracts from a book published in 1907—*The Irish Parliament, 1775*: an official and contemporary document, edited by William Hunt, President of the Royal Historical Society. (Hodges Figgis, 1907).

This is a transcript of a MS. in the possession of Mr. Vincent Scully of Tipperary, compiled by Sir John Blaquiere, afterwards Baron de Blaquiere, then Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Lord Harcourt). It is a record, for the use of the Lord Lieutenant, of the attitude towards the Government of each of the Members of Parliament, of the support or opposition to be expected from them for the proposals and policy of the Government, and of the rewards they had received from the preceding Viceroy, Lord Townshend, or desired for their support if to be purchased. Sir John Blaquiere became Member for Carlingford in 1785.

From it we compile this list of the Louth representatives, and follow with the extracts from the text:—

- County of Louth. .. James Fortescue of Newrath (Clermont).
John Foster of Collon (afterwards Speaker).
- Borough of Athirdee. George Lowther of County Meath.
John Ruxton of Ardee.
- Carlingford. .. B. Townley Balfour of Townley Hall.
Robert Ross.
- Drogheda. .. Francis Leigh, Drogheda.
William Meade, Drogheda.
- Dundalk. .. Robert Shiel.
Robert Waller.
- Dunleer. .. Dixie Coddington of Oldbridge.
Robert Sibthorpe of Dunany.

Page 3.—Balfour, B. Townley, Borough of Carlingford.

Lord Townshend gave his friend a Deanery worth £200; during his Lordship's administration independent and with Government when he wanted a point; and when he had nothing to ask, with Lord Tyrone; to Lord Harcourt's administration he has been uniformly steady; his Excellency gave to his nomination the Surveyorship of Queensborough,¹ worth £150, to Mr. Moore; and distributor of stamps for the County Louth.

Page 13.—Coddington, Dixie, Borough of Dunleer.

Nephew to Judge Tennison; much connected with Mr. Ponsonby; constantly opposed Lord Townshend; during the last session he was as marked in his support of Lord Harcourt; he is independent of Mr. Ponsonby.

Page 21.—Fortescue, James, Co. Louth.

Trustee of the Linen Board; Privy Counsellor; wants to be in remainder to his brother, Lord Clermont's Peerage; a miserable speaker; does not want understanding; independent; the greatest jobber in Ireland; during the last session he opposed upon some very critical questions, for which he ought to have been dismissed the Council; Lord Harcourt has given to his recommendation 2 boatmen, 1 tidewaiter, 1 supernumerary gauger, 2 coast officers.

Fortescue, Thomas, Borough of Trim.

Cousin to Lord Clermont; nephew to Lord Mornington, by whom he is brought into Parliament; opposed Lord Townshend; he supported Lord Harcourt.

1.—At mouth of River Boyne—ED.

Page 22.—Foster, John, Co. Louth.

Eldest son to the Chief Baron ; a very rising young man in the Law and in Parliament ; is very often with Government, but being member for a County, sometimes tho' very seldom quits it on popular questions ; Lord Townshend gave a living of £400 to his brother ; made his relation, Mr. Sibthorpe, judge of Kilmainham ; and gave a living of £200 to his friend Dr. Norris.

Page 31.—Leigh, Francis, Drogheda.

The Attorney General, Chief Baron and Blayney Balfour are his particular friends ; supports handsomely ; Lord Townshend gave a living of £500 to his relation, and Lord Harcourt has given one boatman.

Page 31.—Levinge, Sir Richard, B. of Duleek.¹

Purchased his seat ; brother-in-law to Colonel Marlay, who with the Dean has considerable influence with him ; he has been always against Government.

Page 32.—Lowther, George, Co. Meath.

Lowther, George, B. of Atherdee.

Father and son ; have always been against Government ; have profess'd attachment to Lord Harcourt ; much connected with Mr. Robert Rochfort ; His Excellency gave a tidewaiter to his recommendation.

Page 36.—Meade, William, Drogheda.

The Attorney General and Chief Baron have some influence with him ; generally against Government.

Page 46.—Ross, Robert, Borough of Carlingford.

Lord Townshend procured leave for him to sell his Lieutenant-Colonelcy ; during his administration he was chiefly against ; connected with Lord Hillsborough ; much attached to Mr. Brownlowe, and during the last session always followed him ; Lord Harcourt has given to his recommendation 5 boatmen, 1 tidewaiter, 1 coxwain (sic) ; is to provide for his friend Mr. Moore's son, and to assist Mr. Houston.

Page 46.—Ruxton, John, Borough of Atherdee.

One brother Surgeon General ; another brother Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to my Lord Lieutenant ; connected with Mr. Ponsonby, and has always been in opposition.

Page 47.—Shiel, Robert, B. of Dundalk.

King's Council ; Commissioner of Appeals £300 ; returned by Lord Clanbrassil ; it is imagined His Lordship will not bring him into the next Parliament.

Page 47.—Sibthorpe, Robert, B. of Dunleer.

Judge of Kilmainham ; related to the Chief Baron, Foster ; his conduct upon the Park Presentment² is too recent to require any description.

1.—Former owner of Tyrconnell's confiscated estates in Co. Louth about Ardee, afterwards bought for the late Lord Clermont. Colonel Marlay's family succeeded to the Tisdall property in Louth—Bawn, Manfieldstown, &c.

2.—Some works of enclosure and improvement having been carried out by the Government in Phoenix Park, Dublin, the citizens claimed the Park, either by prescription or as ancient common, and in August, 1774, raised subscriptions to contest the right of the Crown. The Corporation presented the Bailiff's (Sir J. Blaquiere's) Lodge as a nuisance, intending, if successful, to present the other Lodges. The case was heard in the King's Bench in Feb., 1771. Robinson (p. 87), one of the Judges, joined the mob, and endeavoured to have the presentment traversed, but was unsuccessful, and a jury gave a verdict in favour of the Crown—(see "Harcourt Papers," IX. 261-264).

Page 50.—Tisdall, Philip,³ Dublin University.

Privy Counsellor ; Secretary of State, £1,800 ; Attorney General, £1,500 ; Judge of the Prerogative Courts, £1,200 ; Lord Townshend made his cousin, Mr. Boyle, a Commissioner of the Revenue, £1,000 ; a living of £600 to Mr. Disney ; a Cornetcy to his nephew ; his brother a Commissioner of the Barrack Board, £400 ; several small livings and many places in the Revenue to his friends. He was out of humour latterly with Lord Townshend, because he couldn't obtain for him a large pension for 31 years ; deceived and betrayed him on many occasions ; to be strictly watched and cautiously confided in. He promised to support Lord Harcourt, and affected great endeavour and disinterestedness ; during the last session when desired he attended ; seldom took any part in debate ; on the Speaker's motion to have the second Tontine Bill received as a Bill of Supply he supported handsomely and ably in the House the opinion he had given at the meeting at the Castle, that it was a Bill of Regulation.

Page 52.—Waller, Robert, B. of Dundalk.

Formerly a Surveyor General ; afterwards by Lord Townshend a Commissioner of Excise ; returned by Lord Clanbrassil ; very steady ; has great knowledge in the Revenue ; his brother Clerk of the Minutes to the Excise Board, worth £200 ; Lord Harcourt has given to his recommendation 2 guagers, a Hearth money collection, a coast officer, and a supervisor of hearth money.

Page 52.—Westenraw, Henry, Monaghan.

Brought in by Lord Clermont when His Lordship got his Peerage. He promised that this gentleman should always support Government. He asked Lord Townshend for an employment, and on being refused, went into opposition ; he has renewed his request to Lord Harcourt, and last session he supported. This unfortunate gentleman is claim'd as his by Lord Clermont, Mr. Fortescue, and General Cunningham when either of them have any point to carry ; when he is left by them for a moment, he then solicits for himself.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Page 66.—Clanbrassil.

Privy Counsellor ; Trustee of the Linen Board ; Chief Remembrancer, £3,000 a year for life ; made his friend Surveyor of Dundalk, £150 ; he brings in Mr. Waller and Mr. Shiel. The one was a Commissioner of the Revenue, and has now a pension in lieu of it of £600. The other King's Council and Commissioner of Appeals, £300. He has complained very loudly against and quarrels with Lord Harcourt, because His Excellency would not allow him to name to the Collection of Dundalk,⁴ and to the Office of Distributor of Stamps for the County of Lowth, both which had been engaged before he applied ; he has declared his intention to return two new Members for Dundalk, and the condition of their election is to be never to accept of anything from, that they may be at liberty always to oppose Government.

Page 66.—Lowth, Earl of [Birmingham, Athenree ; descendant of Sir John B., who won the battle of Faughart against Edward Bruce. Not of course the Plunket family, Barons of Louth, Louth Hall, Ardee.]

3.—Originally of Ardee, where his or his father's name is preserved in Tisdall Street—the approach to the family residence afterwards purchased by Dawson, and still known as Dawson's Demesne.

4.—The officers of Customs and Excise in Dundalk in 1771 were *Collector*, Meredith Workman ; *Surveyor of the Post*, William Bowes ; *Surveyors of the Excise*, Hercules Charleton and Robert Cooke. In 1777 new officials were appointed, as follows :—*Collector*, James Cavendish ; *Surveyor of the Post*, John Page ; *Surveyors of the Excise*, Peter Ivers and Robert Jackson.

Turned out of the Privy Council by Lord Townshend ; wanted to be Constable of Birmingham Tower, and upon refusal went into strong opposition, in which he has continued ever since.

Page 75.—Clermont, Baron of.

Postmaster General ; Privy Council and Trustee of the Linen Board ; a Peer in 1768 by Lord Townshend and several favours in the Revenue. He resides almost constantly in England. He now wants the rank of Earl. Lord Harcourt gave him the Distributor of Stamps for Monaghan.

BOROUGH OWNERS, LEADERS OF CONNEXIONS AND FOLLOWERS.

Mr. Ponsonby <i>follower</i>	Lord Mornington <i>follower</i>	Lord Clermont <i>follower</i>
John Ruxton.	Thos. Foster.	James Fortescue.

STATE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

For Government,	155
Against (including Ruxton and Lowther)	95
Doubtful,	31
Absent,	13
Seats Vacant,	6
	300

FROM MR. HUNT'S INTRODUCTION.

1773. New taxation was imperative and Blaquiére proposed a tax on the rents of absentee landlords, which are said to have amounted to £732,000. The proposed tax was equitable and was extremely popular in Ireland.

In England the owners of land in Ireland strongly opposed it. The London Companies which held land in Ireland joined in the outcry. The King disliked the tax itself.

Before these difficulties North (the English Prime Minister) wrote that he could not uphold the proposal. . . . In order, therefore, not to embarrass the (English) Ministers and yet not to discredit themselves, Harcourt and Blaquiére determined to ride for a fall—the proposal should be submitted to “ a certain wild, inconsistent gentleman,” and should not be pressed by the Chief Secretary.

On the day for the motion, Nov. 25, 1773, the “ wild and inconsistent gentleman ” played his part. He was probably James Fortescue, Member for Co. Louth, for a Mr. Fortescue certainly made the first motion on the subject. Writing a few hours later, however, Harcourt says that he was persuaded to withdraw his motion, whereas elsewhere his motion is said to have been for a shilling in the pound and to have been defeated on a division.—(*Harcourt to North, “Memoirs of Flood,”*⁵ p. 30).

5.—His son and successor (after the death of a brother Thomas in 1795) in the representation of the County, William Charles Fortescue, unintentionally helped the Government to victory twenty-five years later at a most critical juncture of their intrigue for the promotion of the Union.

At the end of the sitting of January 23-24, 1799, as described by Sir Jonah Barrington in his 25th chapter, when Ponsonby's amendment expressing the hostility of Parliament to the proposal of a Union had been carried and Castlereagh defeated, and the further declaration “ that this House will ever maintain the undoubted birthright of Irishmen by preserving an independent Parliament of Lords and Commons resident in this Kingdom ” was about being solemnly asserevated, Fortescue's intervention, though himself an anti-Unionist, so embarrassed

the situation as to lead to the withdrawal of the declaration and thereby to embolden the Castle party to reintroduce the proposal and ultimately force it through. Barrington's narrative runs :

" On the question [Ponsonby's declaration] being put a second time, a still louder cry of aye, aye, resounded from every quarter ; Government had given up the contest, and the independence of Ireland was on the very verge of permanent security, when Mr. William Charles Fortescue, member for Louth County, requested to be heard before the final decision was announced. He said that ' he was adverse to the measure of a legislative Union, and had given his decided vote against it, but he did not wish to bind himself for ever ; possible circumstances might hereafter occur which might render that measure expedient for the Empire, and he did not approve of any determination which for ever closed the doors against any possibility of future discussion.'

The Opposition were paralysed, the Government were roused, a single sentence plausibly conceived and (without reflecting on its destructive consequence) moderately uttered by a respectable man, and an avowed anti-Unionist, eventually decided the fate of the Irish nation.

Two other anti-Unionists now inconsiderately declared themselves of Mr. Fortescue's opinion, a third took the advantage of making the same statement and thus," continues Barrington, " the constitutional security which a direct and peremptory declaration of indefensible rights, one moment before, was on the point of permanently establishing was by the inconsiderate and temporising words of one feeble-minded member lost for ever . . . Mr. Ponsonby felt the critical situation of the country ; the opposition had but a majority of five on the first division, three seceders would have given a majority to Government, and a division could not be risked."

He accordingly withdrew his motion, and Castlereagh got time to buy his majority before the next year.

James Fortescue was brother of Earl Clermont of Newrath, now Clermont, and his son William Charles succeeded to the title as Viscount Clermont on the death of his uncle in 1806. He was the well-known " Cockle lord."

Extract from " The Family of Fortescue."

The Right Hon. James Fortescue of Ravensdale Park, younger son of Thomas Fortescue of Clermont (and his elder brother being Earl Clermont) was born May 15th, 1725. He sat in the Irish Parliament, first for Dundalk, for which place he was elected in 1757. In 1761, on the 12th December, he was returned for the County of Louth in succession to his brother, who was elected to sit for Monaghan, and continued to be chosen a knight of the shire for that County until his death in 1782. He was a Privy Councillor for some years before his death. His remains were buried in the churchyard within Clermont Park.

Mr. Fortescue was an active and public-spirited gentleman, and did much to improve the system of farming in his neighbourhood and to encourage the linen manufacture in the North of Ireland, for which he received testimonials from several towns.

The *Newry Magazine*, 1815, p. 115, records one of his services to his neighbours, as follows :—

" The cut (ship canal) from Newry (to the sea) at Fatham was made about 54 years ago.

" This valuable addition to the canal was accomplished under the auspices of the late Right Hon. James Fortescue, father of the present Lord Clermont, aided by the late Robert Scott, M.P., and William Ogle, Esq. Hence the lock at Fatham had the name of ' Fortescue-lock ' for many years."

The following panegyric appeared in one of the Dublin newspapers at the time of his death :

Saturday, May 11th, 1782.

" EPITAPH.

" Here deposited in dust Lyeth (sic) the remains of the Right Hon. James Fortescue, who for upwards of 20 years faithfully represented the Co. of Louth in Parliament. He was a man who equally despising the vice of faction and of despotism studied the true interests of this country. A zealous encourager of the Linen Trade, Promoter of Agriculture and useful improvement, and the Patron of rising genius. He lived a steady friend, and knew no enemy but vice."

Horace Walpole in one of his letters thus mentions him :—

" November, 1773. The case of a supposed tax on Irish Absentees was, that Mr. Fortescue, an Irish Patriot, fond of popularity, though brother of Lord Clermont a most devoted courtier, did intend to propose such a tax. It was as true that the Court intended to avail themselves of the idea, and carry it into execution ; but were soon forced to relinquish it."

Mr. Fortescue married Mary Henrietta, daughter of Thomas Orby Hunter, Esq., of Browland in Lincolnshire. This lady died December 23rd, 1814, and lies buried in Ketton Church, Rutlandshire. By her he had issue 4 sons and 3 daughters ; the sons were :—1st Thomas James of Ravensdale Park, born February 15th, 1760, succeeded to his father's estate, and was knight of the shire for Louth from December 18th, 1784, to 1790, and dying unmarried in 1795 was buried in the churchyard in Clermont Park ; 2nd Francis, born 1762, and died unmarried ; 3rd

William Charles, afterwards Viscount Clermont, born October 12th, 1764, Member of Parliament for Louth, 1790 to 1800; 4th George in holy orders, rector of Killala in Mayo, where he was when the French expedition under General Humbert in aid of the Irish rebels landed at that place on the 23rd August, 1798, and loyally took his share of duty with the yeomanry, although his profession might have excused him.

The particulars of the event are taken from a published narrative of the time:—

“ On the morning after his arrival Humbert began his military operations by pushing forward towards Ballina a detachment of 100 men, 40 of whom he had mounted upon the best horses he could lay his hands upon in the country. On the road he concealed under the arch of a bridge adjoining to Killala a sergeant’s guard, to watch the motions of any straggling party from the enemy; a measure of prudence which proved fatal to the Rev. George Fortescue (nephew to Lord Clermont), a clergyman of the diocese of the fairest character. This young gentleman, who had been enrolled in his brother’s troop in the Co. of Louth, had put himself at the head of a reconnoitring from Ballina, and falling in with the ambuscade, received a wound in his groin, of which he died in great agonies, but with the most exemplary patience and resignation a few days after. The carbineers and yeomanry of Ballina, after a short resistance, consulted their safety by flight, leaving the town in the hands of the French, and one of their company, a Newport cavalier, who was surprised in his bed before he had time to escape. The person of this prisoner chancing to be large and corpulent, General Humbert choose to make a public exhibition of him, as the *spolia opima* of his victory. Placing him, therefore, in his uniform, at his left hand, in a curricle drawn by two handsome horses, late the property of poor Mr. Fortescue, the General rode back from Ballina into Killala in triumph.”

I give the sequel from the same narrator, as it refers to another member of the family, the late Viscount Clermont, explaining that the writer was son of the Protestant Bishop of Killala, Doctor Stack, who with his family was kept prisoner for some weeks by the French in his own See-house, here called the Castle:—

“ September 12th. In the evening the light of hope began to open on the loyalists of Killala. Something must have happened they whispered one another, to the prejudice of the French arms. Next morning a prisoner was brought in from Ballina, supposed to be of note, because the Commandant wished the Bishop to be present at his examination. It proved to be William Charles Fortescue, Esq., nephew and heir to Lord Clermont, and member for the Co. of Louth. He announced himself to be the brother of the young clergyman already mentioned as having received a mortal wound in the first encounter with the French. No certain intelligence of his death had reached Dublin, so that Mr. Fortescue was instigated by affection for an excellent and only brother to set out on horseback for Ballina, attended by one servant, resolved to take his chance if that town should yet be in the hands of the rebels; though when he left the capital, it was believed to have returned, along with the rest of the country, to the King’s peace. . . . He did not discover his mistake until he was arrested by a patrol within a short distance from Ballina. The commanding officer there, M. Truc, with his usual brutality, charged him with coming there as a spy, to intimidate the friends of liberty by a false report of the defeat of their army (which he had met on the road to Dublin as prisoners), detained the servant and baggage, and sent the master to Killalla to be examined by M. Charost. Here Col. Fortescue remained a prisoner in the Bishop’s house until the relief of the place by the King’s troops. The presence of this gentleman was of great service in supporting the spirits of the company at the Castle; for, having attained to the rank of Major in the army, he possessed a steadiness of mind in danger, and a prudence which often suggested the most salutary counsels. At one time he had a narrow escape of his life, when the rebels began to fire on the Castle, Mr. Fortescue very humanely took upon him the direction of the women and children, whom he placed as far as he could from the windows, and made them remain prostrate on the carpets until the business was quite over. He himself could not refrain from taking his stand at a window of the library looking seaward, which, with the other windows of that room he had barricaded with beds, leaving room to peep over them. A rascal in the sea-grove observed him, and calling to a woman in the road to stand out of his way until he should do for ‘that tall fellow,’ discharged the contents of his carbine full at the window with such effect that 12 slugs made as many holes in passing through the glass, two of which lodged in Mr. F’s forehead.”

A contemporary of Lord Clermont’s, Lady Florence Balfour, has told the writer, that she remembers his return from Killala, with the wounds in his forehead.

The Rev. George Fortescue died unmarried.

The daughters of the Rt. Hon. James Fortescue were:—1st, Maria, born in 1763; married in 1787 to Capt. George Francis Barlow, and died in 1853, having had one daughter, who died (unmarried) before her mother; 2nd, Charlotte, born in 1766, married in 1796 to Sir Henry

Goodricke of Ribston, 7th Baronet (by whom she had Sir Henry James Goodricke, born Sept. 16th, 1797, and died August 21st, 1833, at Ravensdale Park), and died in 1842; 3rd, Emily Grace, born August 19th, 1798, married to Major Grantham of Ketton Grange, Rutland, in 1811, and died at Ketton without issue, February 27th, 1864, and is buried in the churchyard there. William Charles Fortescue, second Visct. Clermont, the second son of James Fortescue of Ravensdale, a Lieut.-col. in the army, inherited at the death of his elder brother in 1795 the Ravensdale Park property; before that event he had succeeded him in the representation of Louth, having been returned for that County in 1790. He continued to sit for it in the Irish Parliament until the Union in 1800 put an end to that assembly, and was then its representative in the Parliament of the United Kingdom until the death of his uncle, the Earl of Clermont, in 1806 caused him to vacate the seat; the Viscounty and Barony of 1776 descending to him, as well as the Louth and Norfolk estates. Lord Clermont never married; and having survived his three brothers, the titles expired at his death, which took place at Ravensdale Park on the 24th June, 1829. By his will he left his estates in the first place to his only nephew, Sir Harry James Goodricke of Ribston Hall, Yorkshire, with remainder to the heirs male of the late Colonel Chichester Fortescue of Dromiskin, the representative of the elder line from Sir Faithful, as we have seen.

Sir Harry Goodricke, who was well known in the sporting circles of the day, died unmarried on the 23rd August, 1833, when the Louth and Armagh estates passed, as provided, to Thomas Fortescue of Dromiskin, who had inherited his father's estates of Dromiskin and Glyde Farm; and on the 11th February, 1852, obtained a revival in his favour of the Barony of Clermont, with remainder to his only brother, as before mentioned.

The "Red Lists" published at the time and reproduced by Barrington of the members of Parliament who voted against the Union contains all the representatives for Louth County and for Ardee, Drogheda and Dunleer, and one of the Carlingford members, Sir Thomas Lighton, "a Banker."

After John Ball's name¹ Barrington notes "incorruptible." The other member for Carlingford, Richard Magennis, supported the Union, as did also the Honble. John Jocelyn (given as George in Barrington's List, but probably John), and John Stratton, the two representatives of Dundalk.

This list omits the Parliaments of Cromwell at Westminster, 1653, 1654, 1656, to which the Counties of Ireland were summoned to send representatives; there was no Irish Parliament held during the Commonwealth.

CROMWELL'S NEW OR FIRST PARLIAMENT, 1653 (at Westminster).

Sir Robert King,
Colonel Joseph Hewson,
,, Henry Cromwell, Representatives of Ireland.
,, John Clark,--
,, Dan. Hutchinson,^a

CROMWELL'S SECOND PARLIAMENT, 27th JULY, 1654.

*Co's. MEATH AND LOUTH Colonel John Fowke, of Ardee.^b
Major William Cadogan.

*.—Apparently no members were returned for Boroughs.

1.—Of John Ball, M.P. for Drogheda, Sir Jonah Barrington writes;—"Mr. John Ball, Member for Drogheda, who gave his unqualified opinion as to the legal and constitutional incapacity of the Commons to enact a Union, was the ablest lawyer of his day, and one of the purest characters, public and private that had ever flourished in Ireland; amiable and consistent in every station and in every capacity, combined spirit and mildness, fortitude and moderation; he was cast in one of the finest moulds of firmness and patriotism. During his progress from comparative obscurity to the attachment and highest esteem of his profession and of the public, he evinced an independence above all temptation. Though the ablest lawyer of his day, he was passed over in all Lord Clare's promotions."

(a) None of these were Co. Louth men.

(b) From whom the Singleton's of Mell and Belpatrick inherited by descent.

CROMWELL'S THIRD PARLIAMENT, 17th SEPTEMBER, 1656.

*CO'S. MEATH AND LOUTH John Fowke.
 Major William Aston.^c

James II's Parliament of Ireland at Dublin, 1689, is not included in Major-General Stubb's list. The Louth members elected to this Parliament were :—

KING JAMES II.'S PARLIAMENT, 7th MAY, 1689.

DROGHEDA	..	Henry Dowdall, Esq. (Recorder). Christopher Peppard Fitz-George, Alderman.
CO. LOUTH.	..	Thomas Bellew, Esq. William Talbot, Esq.
ARDEE.	..	Hugh Gernon, Esq. John Babe, Esq.
DUNDALK.		Robert Dermot, Esq. John Dowdgall, Esq.
CARLINGFORD.		Christopher Peppard Fitz-Ignatius, Esq. Bryan Dermot, Esq.

Matthew Plunket, Lord Baron of Louth.

P.S.—No Members for Bor. of Dunleer until the year 1692.

(^c) Of Richardstown, Dunleer, now the seat of Captain Henry ; Aston is now represented by Mr. Montgomery, of Beaulieu, his direct descendant.



Blessed Oliver Plunkett Church at Ballybarrack.

The first photograph was taken of the eastern end of the ruined church before restoration, but after it was cleared by Mr. Coleman, who went to very great trouble and expense in the matter.

The stones are piled up in the centre. This debris had originally filled the space to the height of the walls, about four feet. The clearing was commenced by Mr. Coleman early in 1920 and disclosed the side doorway, the chancel cross-wall or flag lintel and altar. The restoration was carried out by Canon Donnellan and Mr. Coleman. On Sunday, 21st May, 1920 (the date of the beatification at Rome) the Very Rev. A. Macardle, S.J., Rector of St. Francis Xavier's, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin, celebrated Mass in the restored chapel.

The second photograph is a picture of the lid of the bronze (?) (brass or latten) thurible found in the ruin during excavation. It was quite near the surface, and in the photograph is placed in the little niche in the wall which most probably was used for holding ecclesiastical vessels.

P. L. MACARDLE.

Notes and Queries.

CLOGHAFARMORE PILLAR STONE, KNOCKBRIDGE.

On 14th July, 1920, I visited the so-called stone of Cuchullain at Knockbridge. I was led to do so primarily by an appearance as of Ogham scoring in a picture post card of the monument. But I found no Ogham on the stone itself, the marks represented on the post card being merely weather-marks.

I have no doubt in my own mind, however, that the stone once bore an Ogham inscription. The left hand angle of the northern face has been most carefully chamfered away, clearly with intention, to within about a foot of the top. The extent of stone removed is just of the average breadth and length of an ordinary Ogham inscription; and the angle which has been thus treated is the most likely angle to be so inscribed. There is no other reason for cutting off the angle so likely as the desire to destroy an Ogham; some zealous early Christian iconoclast may have wished to efface the name of a Pagan. One McKenna has seen fit to immortalise his insignificance by cutting his name in deep letters on the new surface.

Whether the stone had any connexion or not with Cuchullain I express no opinion. But it was either erected or adapted as a monument of some person of importance, as the great size of the monument testifies, and for a while it bore his name.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

Mr. GARSTIN'S MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS.

Miss Garstin has thoughtfully presented to the Louth Archæological Society a very valuable collection of Mr. Garstin's historical manuscripts of local and family history, including many of Major General Stubbs' extracts and compilations, and a transcript of the old Minute Book of the Corporation of Dunleer. Some of these are published in this number, and others of great interest will be given in succeeding issues.

DROGHEDA PICTURES (p. 340).

The Colleen Bawn Steamer, in the stateroom of which these pictures were set, was built about 1856, and was broken up about 1902.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1919.

THE Report for the year 1919 shows no great change on those of previous years. The Council elected to carry on the work of the Society for the year were :— *President*, Sir Henry Bellingham ; *Vice-Presidents*, Mrs. C. S. Whitworth, Very Rev. P. J. E. Byrne, Rev. J. B. Leslie, M.A., Mr. J. T. Dolan, M.A., Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Redmond Magrath ; *Council*, Rev. M. Kerr, C.C., Rev. J. Quinn, C.C., Miss S. Kieran, Mr. G. O'Reilly, Mr. H. G. Tempest, Mr. D. O'Connell, Dr. W. Bradley, Mr. T. F. McGahon, Mr. C. M'Alester ; *Treasurer*, Mr. J. W. Turner, M.A. ; *Secretary*, Mr. J. Martin. Mr. Turner wrote regretting his inability to discharge the duties of that office any longer, and Mr. A. S. Coulter was co-opted in his stead. During the year sixteen new members were admitted.

Owing to the unsuitable train arrangements, all the fourteen Council Meetings as well as the three Lectures arranged by the Society were held in Dundalk. The first lecture was given in January by Mr. Henry Morris, who took as his subject "Life in Early Gaelic Ireland." The second was given in April by Mr. J. J. Webb, LL.D., on "Municipal Government in Mediæval Ireland," and the third in December by Mr. Shane Leslie on "The Irish and the Scotch-Irish." All the lectures were fairly well attended, but considering the reputation of the lecturers and the importance and interest of the subjects treated, larger audiences might very well have been expected.

Afternoon excursions were arranged on two occasions—one in July and the other in September. The former was by motor char-a-banc to Monasterboice, where the excursionists, numbering about sixty, were met by the Drogheda members. Mr. O'Reilly read a very interesting paper entitled: "The Crosses, the Abbey and its Historical Associations." Thence by way of Mellifont and King William's Glen to the scene of the Battle of the Boyne, where Dr. Bradley and Mr. O'Reilly pointed out the places occupied by the armies and the remains of King William's entrenchments. After lunch in the White Horse Hotel, Drogheda, the party visited the Pillar Stones at Baltray, the Cross and Castle of Termonfeckin, and then proceeded to Clogherhead, where tea was served. A visit to the caves, the old graveyard, and the Children's Summer School of Irish brought an end to an expedition which was favoured by most beautiful weather. The September excursion was by motor char-a-banc to Carlingford. About twenty-five members started and were joined by others in Carlingford. All the places of interest in that historic town were visited, and the dilapidations of King John's Castle and the Dominican Abbey noted. The Council have since entered into communication with the owners with a view to having the Castle repaired, preserved, and opened to the public. It is at present closed owing to its dangerous condition.

The Museum is kept as usual in an excellent state by the very careful and efficient curator, Mrs. Culhane. There have not been many presentations this year—some stone axes by Mr. J. T. Boyd, and a high relief representation of Joan of Arc leading the Dauphin of France to be crowned, presented through Mr. R. Magrath, by the Rev. N. Lawless, P.P., Faughart. During the year the Museum was visited by 1,502 adults and 733 children. The receipts, however, do not nearly meet the expenditure, and a large sum is still due to the guarantors.

Owing to the increased cost of production, and in order to lessen the debt which has been hanging over the Society for many years, it was decided to issue a rather larger edition of the JOURNAL than usual, which will cover both the years 1919-1920.

Members are requested to interest themselves in getting others to join, and to remember that a prompt payment of subscriptions when they become due would greatly facilitate the work of the treasurer.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1920.

OWING to the abnormal circumstances which prevailed, 1920 was a year of more or less inactivity for the Society. The Annual Meeting was held in the Free Library on the 27th January, Mr. J. T. Dolan, M.A., presiding. The Secretary's report and the Treasurer's statement of accounts were adopted. The Chairman regretted that owing to the increased cost of production and the fact that the annual subscription had not been raised, the Society were unable to publish a JOURNAL in 1919, but in future he hoped that one would be published annually. The ballot resulted in all the officers and council being re-elected, and Mr. P. L. Macardle was co-opted on the Council during the year.

Professor Curtis, T.C.D., delivered to a fairly large and appreciative audience a very interesting lecture, entitled: "The Battle of Tongues."

Two very successful excursions, one afternoon and one whole-day, were organized; the former to the Cairns on the Ravensdale Mountains, the latter to Downpatrick and Newcastle. The weather was splendid on both occasions, and the excursionists expressed themselves as highly delighted with their outing.

Twelve new members were admitted during the year.

The severe storms caused considerable damage to the Museum buildings, necessitating a large expenditure for repairs, and more are still needed. The Committee purchased two large show-cases, as they considered that many small exhibits needed more protection. A small sum was devoted to tree-planting. As very few donations have lately been received, and the receipts are not equal to the expenditure, it was found necessary to increase the entrance fees slightly, but they still stand at a very reasonable figure. The Museum continues to be looked after carefully by the very efficient curator, Mrs. Culhane.

County Louth Archaeological Society.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT FOR YEAR 1919.

	RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURE.	
Balance forward, 1918	.. £65 19 0	Advertising Expenses	.. .. £10 4 0
Interest on Deposit Receipt	.. .. 0 5 9	Freight on fossils to Museum	.. .. 1 15 0
Restoration Fund Balance	.. .. 8 6 0	W. Tempest, on <i>a</i> / ₁₀₀ printing Journals 1916,	
Sale of Journal	.. .. 9 13 0	1917 and 1918 and Stationery to date	146 7 2
Profit on Excursions—		Secretary's Postage	.. .. 3 14 2
Cooley,	£2 4 0	Treasurer's Postage	.. .. 2 4 7
Mellifont,	2 0 3	Balance in Bank	.. .. 5 18 8
Carlingford	2 4 0		
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		
Subscriptions during year	.. .. 6 8 3		
	.. 79 11 7		
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		
	£170 3 7		<hr style="width: 100%;"/>
			£170 3 7

ARTHUR COULTER, *Treasurer*,
Gable End, Dundalk.

DUN DEALGAN FUND, 1919.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
1919, Jan. 1st.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Balance on hands	3 2 3	By cash paid for Coal	11 0 8
„ Subscriptions—		„ Soap, wire netting, brushes,	
D. C. Rushe and		repairs of cases, &c.	1 4 0
G. O'Reilly ..	0 12 6	„ Booklets and Postcards	4 1 5
„ Receipts at Museum	18 0 7	„ For previous years	1 1 4
„ Sale of Trees ..	26 0 0	„ Insurance ..	1 15 0
			—————
		„ Balance on hands	19 2 5
			28 12 11
	—————		—————
	£47 15 4		£47 15 4

DUN DEALGAN FUND, 1920.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
1920, Jan. 1st.	£ s. d.		
To Balance on hands	28 12 11	By Cash for Coal ..	£20 3 6
„ Subscriptions		„ Repairs to Roof, etc.	10 10 0
D. C. Rushe, 10/-		„ Repairs to Cases ..	1 4 6
Mrs. O'Brien, 2/6	0 12 6	„ Two new Glass Cases	9 0 0
„ Receipts at Museum	21 15 7	„ Sundries ..	0 14 9
		„ Insurance ..	1 15 0
		„ Tree Planting ..	5 0 0
			—————
			£48 7 9
	—————	1920, Dec. 31st—Balance	2 13 3
	£51 1 0		—————
			£51 1 0

APPENDIX.

LOUTH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED A.D. 1903.)

OBJECTS.

I. To preserve, examine, and illustrate all ancient monuments and memorials of County Louth, and adjoining districts.

II. To study the arts, manners and customs of the past to which these monuments belong.

III. To find out all that is ascertainable about the history of Louth and surrounding districts.

IV. To establish a museum or museums in the County where objects of antiquarian interest may be preserved.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The Society shall be called "The Louth Archæological Society," and shall be non-political and non-sectarian.

2. The Society shall consist of Honorary Members, Members and Associates.

3. The Annual Subscription of Honorary Members shall be 10/-; of Members, 5/-

4. All Subscriptions fall due and are payable in the January of each year.

5. Every Honorary Member and Member has the right of free admission to all Meetings and Lectures of the Society, and also of receiving a copy of all publications of the Society.

6. The Society shall be governed by a President, six Vice-Presidents, Hon. Treas., Hon. Sec., and a Council of ten, of which four shall form a quorum.

7. The Officers are *ex-officio* Members of the Council.

8. Only Hon. Members or Members shall be eligible for election to the Council.

9. The Officers and Council shall be elected by the Hon. Members and Members at the Annual General Meeting in each year, the date of such Meeting to be appointed by the Council.

9a. If thought desirable by the Council the positions of Editor of Journal and Hon. Secretary may be separate offices, each entitling to a seat on the Council, and an Advisory Board of three be appointed by Council to assist the Editor.

MEETINGS.

10. The Society shall meet four times in each year, on such days as the Council shall consider most convenient, when lectures may be delivered or papers read and discussed on historical or archæological subjects, and objects of antiquarian interest may be examined.

11. Besides these General Meetings the Council may arrange for Evening Meetings, for reading and discussing papers, and also for excursions to places of historical or antiquarian interest.

12. The General Meetings of the Society shall not be held in the same town, but shall circulate among three or four of the most important centres in the County. At each General Meeting the place of the next such Meeting shall be decided on.

PAPERS.

13. No paper shall be read before the Society without being first submitted to and approved of by the Council.

14. All matters concerning existing religious or political differences shall be excluded from the papers to be read and the discussions to be held at the Meetings of the Society.

15. The Council shall determine the order in which the papers shall be read, and also those papers, or the parts thereof, which shall be published.

16. All papers read before the Society shall thenceforth be the property of the Society.

PUBLICATIONS.

17. The Council shall issue—provided the funds permit—at least one journal or publication during the year, containing such papers or parts of digests of papers, and other matter relating to the Society or its proceedings, as the Council shall consider fit.

GENERAL.

18. Amendments, or addition to the objects, constitution, and rules of the Society, can only be made at the Annual General Meeting.

19. Only Hon. Members or Members can propose such amendments or additions; and notice of any such motions must be lodged with the Hon. Sec. at least one month before the date of the Annual General Meeting

County Louth Archæological Society.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1920:

- President :* Sir H. Bellingham, Bart., Castlebellingham.
 Mrs. Whitworth, An Grianan, Blackrock.
 Joseph T. Dolan, M.A., Ardee.
- Vice-
 Presidents :* Very Rev. P. J. E. Byrne, S.M., St. Mary's College, Dundalk.
 T. M. Healy, K.C., Chapelizod.
 Rev. J. B. Leslie, M.A., Kilsaran, Castlebellingham.
 R. Magrath, Clanbrassil Street, Dundalk.
- Council :* Rev. M. Kerr, C.C., Dundalk.
 George O'Reilly, 26 Trinity Street, Drogheda.
 Miss S. Kieran, Castle Road, Dundalk.
 D. O'Connell, Earl Street, Dundalk.
 Very Rev. Canon Lyons, P.P., S.T.L., Ardee.
 H. G. Tempest, Dundalk.
 Dr. W. Bradley, St. Lawrence Street, Drogheda.
 Charles M'Alester, Castle Road, Dundalk.
 Rev. James Quinn, C.C., Bessbrook.
 T. F. M'Gahon, St. Mary's Road, Dundalk.
 P. L. Macardle, Cambricville, Dundalk.
- Hon. Treasurer :* A. S. Coulter, The Crescent, Dundalk.
Hon. Secretary : J. Martin, Avenue Road, Dundalk.

MEMBERS :

- Acheson, Fred W., Streathearn, Dundalk.
 Ashley, T. J. E.
 Backhouse, H. C., Dundalk.
 Bailey, Mrs., Sandymount, Dundalk.
 Bailey, W. R., 16 Westmoreland-st., Dublin.
 Beattie, J., Clanbrassil-st., Dundalk.
 Belfast Central Library,
 Bellew, Bernard Gerald, Drumin, Dunleer.
 Bellew, The Hon. Mrs. R., 20 Cavendish-rd.,
 Bournemouth.
 Bellew, Lady, Barmeath, Dunleer.
 Bellew, Lord, Jenkinstown Park, Kilkenny.
 Bellingham, Sir Henry, Bart., H.M.L., Castle-
 bellingham.
 Bellingham, Major-General, Castlebellingham.
 Bellingham, Eudo, Dunany House, Dunleer.
 Blake, Dr. Marlay, Ravensdale, Dundalk.
 Brady, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., Keady.
 Bigger, F. J., Ardriagh, Belfast.
 Bradley, Dr. W., Drogheda.
 Brett, Sir Chas., 9 Chichester-st., Belfast.
 Brown, Stephen J., Ard Cai-n, Naas.
 Bute, Marchioness of, Mount Stuart, Rothesay.
 Butler, J. G. W., Sorrento-ter., Dalkey.
 Boyd, J. T., Castle-road, Dundalk.
 Balfour, B. R. T., Townley Hall, Drogheda
 Brunskill, Rev. K. C., M.A.
 Caddell, Mrs. Agnes, Harbournstown, Bal-
 briggan.
 Callan, Philip, Dowdstown, Ardee.
 Campbell, Mrs. T., Anne-street, Dundalk.
 Carragher, E. J., Mayne, Castlebellingham.
 Carolan, Rev. F., P.P., Tullyallen, D'heda.
 Carolan, Paul V., The Crescent, Dundalk.
 Carrigan, Very Rev. W., D.D., P.P., Durrow,
 Queen's County.
 Carroll, J. M., Dundalk House, Dundalk.
 Carroll, Vincent P., Priorland, Dundalk.
- Clarke, Dr. J. J., Douglas Place, Dundalk.
 Clinton, Mathew, Annagassan.
 Comerford, Miss S., St. Mary's-rd., Dundalk.
 Comerford, Mathew, Jocelyn-plc., Dundalk.
 Convent of Mercy, Dundalk.
 Connolly, W. B., Imperial Hotel, Dundalk.
 Cooke, John, M.A., M.R.I.A., 66 Morehampton-
 Road, Dublin.
 Coulter, A. S., The Crescent, Dundalk.
 Cox, John M., Derryhale, Dundalk.
 Colgan, James F. E., M.D., 1022 95th Street,
 Philadelphia.
 Curran, Mrs., Rose Hall, Killineer, D'heda.
 Connolly, Mrs. T. J., Louth
 Connolly, Dr., Louth.
 Curran, Rev. M. J., Irish College, Rome.
 Corry, Lady Dorothy L.
 Cork Free Library.
 Carroll, Miss, Priorland, Dundalk.
 Corish, Rev. P. A., Franciscan Conv., D'heda.
 Corcoran, Rev. P., C.C., Dunleer.
 Callan, Mrs. J. J., Rathneety, Knockbridge.
 Daly, E., Technical Schools, Drogheda.
 Deery, Patrick, Church-street, Dundalk.
 Dempsey, Miss, Brookville House, Cliftonville,
 Belfast.
 Dolan, Rev. Seamus, C.C., Collon.
 Dolan, Joseph T., M.A., Ardee.
 Drew, Patrick, West-street, Drogheda.
 Daly, P. J., Church-street, Dundalk.
 Daly, Mrs. J. C., Collon.
 Drogheda Free Library.
 Dowdall, Mrs., Tateetra, Dundalk.
 Dargan, Dr., 47 Stephen's Green, Dublin.
 Davis, W. J. C., Technical School, Dundalk.
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DECEMBER, 1920.



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